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THE STANDARD.

THE EMANCIPATION AMENDMENT.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE OF THE NEW YORK UNION LEAGUE CLUB.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

THE following resolutions, reported by the Executive Committee, were unanimously passed at a special meeting of the Union League Club of this city, on Friday evening, Jan. —.

Whereas, Apart from all moral questions connected with the system of slavery, or its incongruity with the Declaration of Independence, it has constituted, by the confession of the rebels themselves, both the motive and the strength of the pending rebellion against the National government, and has, by the waging of a wicked war, wasted the lives and treasures of the American people, and has thus forfeited all right to further recognition and protection:

Whereas, For the avoidance of all further controversy on this vexed subject, and for the advisement of the world of the future character of this republic, and that free homes in the South invite foreign emigration, and generally as a guaranty for the peace, unity, stability, prosperity and power of the republic, it is expedient that the abolition of slavery by the military and naval arm should be confirmed and concluded beyond all cavil by the constitutional will of the nation at the earliest moment possible; therefore,

Resolved, That this Club approve of the passage by our present Congress of the Constitutional Amendment forbidding the existence of slavery henceforth, to the end that the same may be promptly submitted to the judgment of the American people, and that a Committee of nine be appointed by the Chair to represent their views to members of the House of Representatives, and to take such further action for the development of public opinion in favor of such amendment as they may deem expedient.

Resolved, That this Club, impressed with the immediate importance of the creation of a Bureau at Washington devoted to the affairs of the Freedmen of the South, appoint a Committee of nine to further the organization of such a Bureau by the present Congress, with ample provision for the protection of the Freedmen in their rights, and for the establishment of schools for their instruction in reading and wrriting.

In the Union League Club of New York, on Thursday evening, Feb. 9th, the following report was read and accepted.

The Committee appointed to urge the passage, by the House of Representatives, of the Constitutional Amendment forbidding slavery, respectfully report:

That they immediately proceeded to Washington, in pursuance of the duty entrusted to them, and conversed with a large number of members of Congress, and that they had the pleasure of reporting to the Club from the House of Representatives on Tuesday, the 31st of January, the passage of the Amendment by the two-thirds vote required by the Constitution, by a telegram dispatched while the result was being greeted with prolonged, enthusiastic and irrepressible applause.

That brief telegraphic report they knew would be received by the Club with an approval that no more elaborate one could hope to command, and with that they proposed to be content; but having received intimations from numerous members of this body, that in view of the profound importance and historic significance of the Amendment, the Club would expect a more detailed account of the proceedings in which they had openly manifested so deep an interest, your Committee, although with some hesitancy, beg leave to submit a more detailed account of an event which, if ratified, as they believe it is destined to be, by three-fourths of the States, will stand as an epoch in the world's history, and to which even now loyal Americans recur with pride as one which, not forgetting the emancipation of West Indian slaves or of Russian serfs, must be regarded in its national significance and far-reaching influence as without a parallel.

The amendment proposed by the Joint Resolution of Congress is as follows:

ART. XIII. SEC. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, of which the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

This amendment had been recommended to the States for adoption by the Senate on the 8th of April, 1864, by a vote of 38 to 6, but it had been defeated in the House on the 15th of June by a vote of yeas 96, nays 63, wanting ten of the constitutional majority of two-thirds.

The Hon. Mr. Ashley of Ohio, before the announcement of the result, changed his vote from aye to no, to enable him to move a reconsideration, and after a prolonged debate, continued at intervals, Tuesday, the 31st of January, was fixed for taking the final vote, and the hour named for the purpose was 3 o'clock. Since the vote of the House on the 15th June, had occurred the Presidential election of the 8th of November; and the popular verdict then pronounced had been interpreted by the country at large, including many influential Democratic leaders and Democratic organs, as a distinct condemnation of slavery as at once the cause and the strength of the rebellion; and upon the ground that in that overwhelming vote the Democrats might consistently recognize the authoritative voice of the people, which they sometimes declare to be as the voice of God, strong hopes were entertained that the more honest and intelligent of their number would gladly embrace this last opportunity to break loose from the pro-slavery policy of their party, and to escape the handing down of their names to posterity as the champions of slavery at a moment when slavery was synonymous with rebellion. Others, however, who had marked the demoralizing and denationalizing influence of slavery upon its apologists, whether in the pulpit, on the bench, in legislative halls or in the Democratic ranks, were less sanguine of numerous conversions, and when the morning of the 31st of January dawned smilingly upon a cloudless sky, doubts still hung upon the issue which was to make that day forever memorable. Hope predominated, and with some almost amounted to a certainty; but even the most hopeful were conscious of a deep anxiety, in view of the closely balanced parties and the antecedents of the gentlemen upon whose late adhesion to freedom their trust depended; knowing as they did that the most desperate efforts were being made to retain them in the pro-slavery ranks by those who were resolved to link their political destiny with that of the dark power they had so long served, and of which, though deserted and betrayed by their rebel comrades, they intended to stand alone the last defenders. Up to the noon of Tuesday, the pro-slavery party are said to have been confident of defeating the Amendment, and after that time had passed one of the most earnest advocates of the measure said to your Committee of the coming vote, "'tis the toss of a copper." Prominent among the Democratic advocates of the amendment, was the Hon. Moses F. Odell of Brooklyn, to whom the country is largely indebted for its success.

The House opened at its stated hour of 12, and the members of your Committee, admitted to the floor in company with an unusual number of distinguished strangers, were courteously assigned seats which the rebellion has temporally left vacant, and they were then enabled to observe advantageously a scene never to be forgotten. The magnitude of the question had drawn to the galleries and the floor such an assemblage of Americans as only the Capital of our country at this moment can present, and the historic grandeur of the occasion was fitly represented, and aptly appreciated by the thousands whose presence gave dignity to the scene, and whose voices were presently to give the first note of the chorus of approval with which the work of the day has been hailed by the American people, and will be hailed by all but the advocates of exclusive privilege throughout the extent of Christendom.

Among those prominent on the floor were Judges of the Supreme Court, and the newly-appointed Chief-Justice, the head of what Washington declared was "the Key Stone of our political fabric," whose presence on that august bench marks the restoration of its ancient principles. Near them were eminent Senators attracted from their own chamber, although the great question of retaliation was there being discussed, by the surpassing interest of the issue to be decided in the House, ex-members of the President's Cabinet, heads of Bureaus, officers of the army, and civilians illustrious in Church and State. The men's galleries were crowded with citizens and soldiers fresh from their triumphs with Grant and Sherman and Thomas, and the ladies' galleries with the wives and daughters of Senators and members, and hundreds of representatives of the benignity and beauty, the charity and culture of our land, assembled to hear the judgment of extinction pronounced upon a system that disregards all that is sacred in woman's character. From the diplomatic gallrey the courtly representatives of foreign powers looked down upon a Republican scene alike novel and suggestive, in which they could read clearly the fact that all European schemings for the disintegration of America are doomed to disappointment, that every effort to lend success to the rebels by their recognition as belligerents, by partial neutrality and piratical iron-clads, had but invigorated the cause they were intended to ruin, and that with the passage of the Amendment their last hope of establishing on American soil an empire with slavery as its corner-stone would be extinguished forever. The grand idea uppermost in the loyal breasts of that vast multitude was the thought that slavery, the cause of the rebellion, the disturber of our peace, and the desolator of our homes, was to meet its doom; that Congress was about to invite the State Legislatures to obey the divine injunction "to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burthens, to let the oppressed go free and to break every yoke"; an injunction sanctioned by the prophetic promise, "Then shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thine health shall spring forth speedily; then shall thy light rise in obscurity, and thy darkness be as the noon-day; * * the glory of the Lord shall be thy re-reward; * * thou shalt be as a watered garden, and like a spring of water whose waters fail not, and they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places; thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations, and thou shall be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in."

But apart from the glorious future which the passage of the Amendment would seem to open to the eye of patriotism and faith for our Continental Republic, there were historic recollections that crowded upon the thoughts of the spectators, as they realized that on that olden battle-ground of the House of Representatives, they were about to witness the final and decisive conflict between slavery and freedom. More than two centuries had passed since the antagonistic ideas and principles, represented by the two systems, were transplanted to our shores, where they had dwelt side by side, with occasionally angry conflicts until the formation of our Union. Then the idea of slavery, discarded as it was by the better spirit of the age, demanded and obtained concessions; and subsequently, strengthened unexpectedly by cotton and the cotton gin, it had for the last forty years, on every possible occasion, struggled for the supremacy. It was remembered that in the House of Representatives in 1819–20 occurred the first memorable conflict which for two years disturbed the harmony and even threatened the existence of the Republic, until with undeserved confidence in the faith of the Slave Power, it was terminated by the Missouri Compromise.

They recalled the fact that a little later, in 1827, the contest was renewed by a prolonged debate in the House on a petition from New York for the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, growing out of the attempt to sell, under an act of Congress, Gilbert Horton, a free negro from Westchester County, who had been arrested as a slave for the payment of his jail fees.*

The day was recalled also when, in 1835, in that House, a petition of 172 women praying for the abolition, not of slavery, but simply of the slave trade in the District of Columbia was laid upon the table by yeas 180—nays 31. Those were the well-remembered times when, amid the plaudits of a deluded people, and with the sanction of a perverted pulpit and a convenient bench, freedom of speech and of the press, the right of petition and debate were rudely betrayed in the North, when churches were sacked, and houses mobbed, and printing-presses destroyed, when a clergyman was arrested and imprisoned as a brawler for preaching an anti-slavery sermon, when one editor was led about the streets of Boston by a rope, and another in the West was murdered, because they believed and declared that slavery should be abolished.

The pending amendment for carrying that abolition into effect presented also a striking commentary on the rule of the House known as the Atherton Gag, introduced by a member from New Hampshire in 1838, which sounds to-day like an imperial edict of the dark ages and curiously illustrates the sternness of the tyranny and the blindness of the folly with which the Slave Power was permitted to sway the country which even then it was conspiring to destroy.

That rule declared "that every petition, memorial, resolution, proposition, or paper, touching or relating in any way or to any extent whatever to slavery, as aforesaid, or the abolition thereof, shall, on the presentation thereof, without any discussion thereon, be laid on the table, without being debated, printed or referred." This rule was passed by yeas 127—nays 78. In every part of the Hall stood men who had taken part in the long and bitter struggle which followed that mad assault on the liberties of the country, and the intelligence of the people—a struggle illuminated by the heroism of John Quincy Adams, calmly defying for weeks the attempt to expel him for asking if a petition from slaves could be received: of Giddings appealing to his constituents from the censure of the House for uttering axioms of constitutional law, and of their brave colleagues whose names, reviled while they lived, are growing brighter and brighter on the page of history.

The annexation of Texas, the war with Mexico, the Fugitive Slave act, the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the attempt to force slavery into Kansas across the landmark of freedom by fraudulent votes and border violence, stood sharply forth in the memories of the spectators, as among the crimes committed by the Slave Power while it yet claimed to be the guardian of the Constitution and the great conservator of the Union: a claim which it hardly discarded, till the hour when it fired on the Stars and Stripes waving over Sumter, and on the anniversary of the battle of Lexington massacred the National troops in the streets of Baltimore.

The feeling was prevalent on the floor of the House, that the Slave Power was the head and front and soul of the rebellion, and this conviction, and the stern resolve that slavery should die, contrasted forcibly with the early attempts of the government on the field of battle and on the floor of Congress to crush the rebellion and save slavery, and with its volunteered assurance to European Courts that when the rebellion was over "the domestic institution" would remain unchanged. Now it was felt that from the passage of the amendment, British and Continental statesmen would have no apology for believing that the North was as devoted as the South to the perpetuation of the domestic institution, and that therefore our struggle, involving no principle of right or justice, was simply a contest for empire on one side and independence on the other, in which Europe could properly intervene for the sake of humanity.

The crimes of slavery that loomed up before the memory of that assemblage, as demanding its immediate and eternal downfall, were not confined to the dark catalogue of miseries which for two centuries it had inflicted on the helpless race whom, from the mean motive of avarice, it had degraded to the level of the brutes, but embraced those innumerable and unimagined crimes which it had recently committed, since it raised its bloody hand against the life of the nation and the lives and happiness of its citizens.

Traitor to the Constitution by which it had been protected, ingrate to the party by whom it had been tolerated and fostered, scarcely a day had passed during the last four years in which loyal citizens had not had reason to loathe from their hearts the Slave Power of America, as the faithless, relentless and brutal foe of the unity, the nationality, the prosperity, the peace, civilization and the very humanity of the country.

Rebel against the noblest government that the sun ever shone upon, the desolations of the war it has waged and is still waging could not be forgotten at such a moment, and the blood of the hundreds of thousands of our young braves, killed on Southern battle-fields or slowly murdered by villainous treatment, seemed to cry to that House for vengeance: nor unheard were the lamentations of sorrowing mothers and wives and children throughout the North, and the faint gasps of Union prisoners, even then dying of starvation in Southern prisons, and going up to heaven in one vast symphony, where the voices of the living were solemnly blended with the voices of the dead.

Such were the thoughts that roused to the intensest pitch the anxiety of the assemblage gathered in the Hall of Representatives, and so rapid had been the changes of feeling towards slavery wrought by this rebellion, and especially by the massacres of unresisting men and the systematic torture of Union prisoners, that men who since the war began had differed widely on the question, stood shoulder to shoulder for its extinction, and yet seemed almost to question the reality of the fact that they were there to assist in giving the *coup de grace* to the great Slave Power that but yesterday wielded with a rod of iron the National government, haughtily proclaiming its finality resolves—"thus far and no farther"—its Ostend Manifesto for the plundering of Spain after the manner of a pirate, its Dred Scott decision, extra judicial and of no binding force, but defying the truth of history and all law, human and divine; that that Power was now to be condemned and extinguished by the American people if two-thirds of the House of Representatives could be found with virtue enough to recommend the sentence.

Amid such an assemblage and such memories, did the popular branch of the Congress of 1865, composed of the representatives of 26 States, proceed in the manner designated by the Constitution itself to amend the organic law adopted in 1789 by the representatives of the old thirteen.

The debate was opened by Mr. McAllister (Democrat) of Pennsylvania, in a speech explaining his reasons for changing his former vote, declaring that he had been in favor of exhausting the means of conciliation, but that he was now satisfied that nothing short of independence would satisfy the Southern Confederacy, and that therefore it must be destroyed, and he must cast his vote against its corner-stone and declare eternal war with the enemies of the country.

Mr. Coffroth (Democrat) of Pennsylvania followed, urging the power of Congress to submit the amendment to the Legislatures of the States, and giving his vote for the measure as a Democrat.

Next came the champions of slavery against this wholesale act of abolition. Mr. Miller (Democrat) of Pennsylvania spoke strongly against the amendment, Mr. Herrick (Democrat) of New York warmly in its favor, insisting upon the power to make the amendment and declaring that the time had arrived to exercise it. The people in the Presidential Election had endorsed the anti-slavery issue—it was settled by their verdict and the adoption of the amendment would restore the prosperity of the country.

The friends of slavery renewed their attack upon the measure.

Mr. Brown (Democrat) of Wisconsin spoke of the dangerous abuse of the power of amendment.

Mr. Harding (Democrat) of Kentucky followed on the same side.

Mr. Kalbfleisch of New York, in a long written speech against the amendment, closed the debate which had been impatiently submitted to, with hardly a pretence of attention to the speakers, who were evidently speaking not for the enlightenment of the House, but simply for effect upon their constituents.

And Mr. Ashley moved the question of reconsideration.

Mr. Stiles (Democrat) of Pennsylvania moved that this motion be laid upon the table.

This motion assumed the character of a test vote, and the casting of the ayes and noes commanded the most earnest attention, when the count was announced 57 ayes 111 noes, it appeared that although the motion was not tabled, the vote against the tabling was less than the two-thirds required to pass the amendment. The question was then taken amidst the most earnest attention on the motion to reconsider the vote of the last session by which the amendment was rejected, and the vote was announced ayes 112, nays 57, a result that showed the requisite two-thirds on the last question to be still lacking.

Mr. Mallory (Democrat) of Kentucky raised the question that a vote of two-thirds was requisite to reconsider, but the Speaker promptly and decisively overruled the point of order on the ground that all motions of this kind were governed by the rule, and not by the Constitutional provision requiring a two-thirds vote on an amendment to the Constitution. Mr. Mallory and other Democrats then suggested a postponement of the vote until the next day, and demanded that a time be fixed for the vote and fair warning given. Mr. Ashley declined, reminding the House that he had consented to the extension of the debate even against the protest of his friends, and that every courtesy had been shown and the fairest notice given.

New ground for anxiety in regard to the result was afforded by a telegraphic rumor, which was quickly spread over the floor, that peace commissioners were on their way from Richmond, and one version of the rumor announced that they were then arrived at Washington.

The taking of the final vote begins, amid profound silence.

Division lists are in the hands of members and others on the floor, and groups watch the checking of the ayes and noes.

As John E. English (Democrat) of Connecticut votes aye, a burst of applause greets the unexpected vote, and the Speaker's hammer restores silence.

As John Ganson (Democrat) of New York votes aye, another burst, repressed by the Speaker, and angry calls from the Democratic side of the House indicate their displeasure and disappointment.

Ayes from Wells H. Hutchings (Democrat) of Ohio, William Radford (Democrat) of New York and John B. Steele (Democrat) of New York are greeted with a buzz of pleasure and surprise, and suppressed exultation is apparent on the Republican side, and among the spectators on the floor who know that their votes have given victory to freedom.

The roll call completed, the Speaker says, "Call my name as a member of this House," and the Clerk calls "Schuyler Colfax," responded to by a sonorous "aye," and again a burst of applause, promptly rebuked by his appeal to the members to preserve order. The Clerk hands a paper with the result to the Speaker, and the Speaker in clear tones declares the result, ayes 119—nays 56—and announces that the Joint Resolution recommending the Amendment has been passed by the Constitutional majority of two-thirds. A moment of silence succeeded, and then from floor and galleries burst a simultaneous shout of joy and triumph, spontaneous, irrepressible, and uncontrollable, swelling and prolonged in one vast volume of reverberating thunder, as though the pent-up emotions of that great assemblage, released by the projected Constitutional Abolition of Slavery, were inexhaustible and without end. The men and women in the galleries had risen by a common impulse, and the swinging of hats, the waving of handkerchiefs and the congratulations exchanged on the floor, with grasped hands and warm embraces and deep emotion, presented, in all its aspects a scene of moral grandeur, which attested the completeness of the final triumph of freedom, in the House where she had been so often shamefully betrayed, and disgracefully vanquished. The suggestion that upon that scene looked down approvingly from Heaven the signers of the Declaration of Independence, whose opening truth, after eighty-nine years, was about to be embodied in the organic law of the mighty Republic whose independence they based upon that deep foundation, and that with them were the framers of the Constitution whose anti-slavery views were at last to be made a part of their great work, brought as it were face to face, the past and the present, and recalled the oft-repeated wish of the "father of his country" that slavery might be abolished by law, and his prophetic remark that "if such a courses could be adopted it might prevent much mischief."

The 38th Congress, in the midst of the second war for national independence, had not forgotten the solemn injunction of the Continental Congress at the close of the Revolution, "Let it ever be remembered that the rights for which we have contended were the rights of human nature."

When the applause began to subside, a motion to adjourn was promptly made. Before it was carried, a telegram was dispatched to the Club advising them of the passage of the Joint Resolution, and another, signed by eight members of the Committee, was, the same evening, dispatched to Gov. Fenton, expressing the hope that for the honor of our State, New York might be the first to ratify the Amendment. The Governor promptly acceded to this suggestion by a message to the Legislature in advance, it is believed, of the action of any other State Executive.

All which is respectfully submitted.

CHARLES H. MARSHALL,
ELLIOTT C. COWDIN,
GEORGE W. BLUNT,
GEORGE W. LANE,
HENRY E. CLARK,
HIRAM BARNEY,
JOHN JAY,
} Committee.

New York, Feb. 9, 1865.

* This petition originated with the late Hon. William Jay at a public meeting called to demand through the Governor of New York the release of Horton, and it was presented in the House by the Hon. Aaron Ward of Westchester.

LEADERSHIP IN THE ANTI-SLAVERY CAUSE.

SPEECH OF A. BRONSON ALCOTT

At the late Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

I KNOW that I have no right to occupy a moment of this evening, but I cannot leave this audience without speaking a word. Coming as I do unconnected with any party, a recluse, a scholarly man, an observer of the times, I cannot, I say, go away without expressing my latest thought concerning the great issues which are now before us.

Who are the people's teachers? That, essentially, is the question. Who, my friends, can instruct us as to what is to be done in this national crisis? I shall not undertake, it would be egotism in me to undertake to tell you who your teachers are. Providence is our greatest teacher; and that Teacher of teachers has taught the teachers, and has taught the country, and has advanced us all, individually and nationally, half a century. But who has received the largest measure of light? who can speak to your instincts, speak to your reason, speak to your imagination, speak to your hearts, and carry the day over all private and individual differences of opinion, reconcile even your leaders, and show you that each man on this platform, and each one of you, are aiming at the same grand end—that the little differences concern only the end—that some of you require less, and some require more, to be done?

Now, who are your teachers? Will you allow me to state who, I conceive to be your teachers, and the teachers of the country—the teachers of the President, and of those who made him President, and who will keep him there, or remove him, and put another man in his place, when they please? The man who, more than thirty years ago, in this very city, ventured to think, in his private heart, that slavery could be abolished in this country, took his position, and throughout all this intervening period has steadily held fast to it, and is about to see it consummated by other hands than his, or those of his immediate colleagues and associates—he is your teacher (applause). He is the nation's teacher. He has been the President of these United States for long years, had the people known it. He is President of the United States to-day, if he choose to be so, and if he hold up before him that grand future, that high destiny, to which this people is swiftly advancing. He is no longer the President, no longer your leader, unless he do. You will take sides then with him who calls himself the disciple of the leader; you will take sides, then, according to the breadth, and depth, and scope of your experience. If you are content with the President of the United States being but the instrument of your teacher, and executing what your teacher conceived so many years ago, then follow him; it is but following your leader. If you feel that, at this crisis, the destiny of the country depends, not upon what becomes of the white man, but upon what shall be done for the black man, then you will determine what course you will take.

Now, does it appear to any of you, my friends, to-day, that you can safely trust any Administration that you can elect with this humane question, this religious question, this care of a whole people? You cannot. We are none of us quite equal to the care of a single servant in our own houses. The culture of mankind has not yet reached to such humanity that one human being can be entrusted to another, without great uncertainty whether he will be able to fulfil his duties—to be a humane and kindly master and friend. And yet there is this people, to-day, to be entrusted with the legislation of your Congress.

Now, I shall intimate, as distinctly and discriminatingly as I can, where my sympathies lie. I shall endeavor to be just to your teacher, the leader. I have now a word to say respecting his disciple, who is, let me tell you, if my instincts fail me not, to be, under Providence, through the eloquence of his words, the sympathies of his heart, and the scope of all his faculties, the leader and deliverer of the country. You know to whom I allude; I need not mention his name (loud applause). It is not strange for gentlemen of my age, and the age of my friend [Mr. Garrison], not to know our own sons, and to call them by new names. Does my friend know that he is calling "Abraham," "Abraham," "Abraham," when he should be calling another name? For what is Abraham doing but what this disciple of his has taught him to do? (Applause.) This is his brightest son; this is the fruit of his long labors. Let him own him, let him know him, let him bless him (loud applause). Let there be no quarrel in the household. If the son can do more than the father, shall we not all say, "God speed!" (Applause.) Is it not likely that the work to be done, during the life of this hopeful son, is unlike what has been done during the life of the parent? If we have new duties to perform, shall we not find speedier ways of discharging those duties? Is it not time that the Anglo-Saxon race should know how to do things in an Anglo-Saxon way? (Applause.) Is it not time that we should cease borrowing from abroad? We are not a nation until we have grown our poetry, our literature, our philosophy, our politics, our religion, our modes of reform; and yet, see to-day how slowly we move! We are Old England men yet. My friend who sits before me [Geo. Thompson, Esq.]—though perhaps I am hardly entitled to call him my friend—will pardon me if I say he is not an Old England man, he is a New England man, and has found his own country at last (applause). It is because, in the old country, they are still doing things, not in the new Anglo-Saxon way, but in the old Norman way, in the old Hebrew way; and so he flees Old England, and comes here for more freedom.

Will my friend [Mr. Garrison] allow me to say that I think he, too, is behind his times; that what was good thirty years ago—good for him, something of a Hebrew as he is, and a prophet after that order—may be superseded by something better now; that the time has come when swifter, speedier and more Saxon ways of doing our work are demanded? We must have a politics and religion of our own. We must no longer borrow; we are not a people while we do. See, to-day, what is our religion? Borrowed! What are our politics? Borrowed, not ours! What are our letters? All borrowed; only the faintest indications, to-day, of some slight Saxon, New England genius. You know I allude to my own townsman, Emerson (applause). Let me speak my belief, that his is the first American mind which has any right to conceive itself to be detached and independent of the old isle (applause). Well, our politics are to be of the same new and Anglo-Saxon type, and here is its leader. [The speaker pointed to Mr. Phillips, and the act called forth loud applause.]

Now, do not understand me to say that I am blaming any one. I am discriminating, and telling what I believe is true, independent of any thought of mine—absolutely true. It is, my friends, it seems to me, a little too trivial for us, at this juncture, to be inquiring whether we think alike, or not; the main point is to inquire whether we can act alike—whether we can *do*. The question is not so much with regard to measures and men, as the things to be done. That I conceive to be our duty to-day.

You will excuse me if I have spoken frankly and freely; excuse the imperfections of my discrimination; but I tell you precisely what I think; and I am to-day pledged, so long as I am permitted to walk here, to the cause and the interests of him who represents the new idea of what is proper for the people of New England, who are the leaders of all the world, to do hereafter. They say that in Philadelphia, the people are getting to be very jealous of New York; that New York is very jealous of Boston; and if it would not seem egotistic in me, I would add in a whisper, "and Boston begins to be a good deal jealous of Concord" (loud laughter and applause).

SPEECH OF WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

MR. PRESIDENT: I rise, now, simply to refer to the remarks of my friend, Mr. Alcott. I was very glad to see him on this platform, and wish he could occupy it more frequently than he seems disposed to do, through his innate modesty. His personal reference to myself was not only highly complimentary—as to the past, certainly—but partial and excessive, I think. At least, allow me to say that I have never undertaken to be the teacher of this nation. Nobody has ever heard me put forth such a claim; nor have I aspired to lead anybody. A young man thirty-six years ago, without influence, without friends, solitary and alone, seeing the slave in his fetters, and recognizing his claim to immediate freedom, I warmly espoused his cause. As an humble laborer in his behalf, I have continued to prosecute the work to this hour, as one only of a multitude of noble men and women in various parts of the country, whose combined efforts have all been necessary to bring about the marvellous change in public sentiment which we now see, and over which we now rejoice. Not a tear has been shed, not a prayer offered, not an effort put forth by the humblest of the humble, not a testimony borne, not a pecuniary contribution made, that has not been necessary and indispensable to the achievement of the triumph of our cause, as it now stands before our country and the world. No "teacher" and no "leader," sir, but simply a true friend and a humble advocate of the oppressed.

My friend has attempted to draw a distinction between Mr. Phillips and myself, as though I had fallen into the rear, and he was now the "leader" in this cause. "Leader," sir? "Leader"—where? "Leader"—in what? I should have been gratified if my respected friend had thrown some light upon that issue. I cannot allow, because it is not true, that Mr. Phillips is more firmly anchored in anti-slavery principle than I am, or more inexorable in the application of that principle. Have I not always declared, that all proscriptive complexional distinctions are cruel, unnatural, and wicked before God? I deny here, not in the spirit of rivalry but as a matter of justice, that he precedes me, or the humblest member of this Society, a hair's breadth in demanding that equal justice be done to the black man as to the white man. I protest, therefore, against this alleged difference between Mr. Phillips and myself—as though there had been a retreat, or standing still, or getting "behind the times," on my part, and a bold, radical advance on his part, separating us from each other. There is no such antagonism, isolation, retraction or precedence. Neither is he in advance, nor am I behind; neither does he lead, nor are the Abolitionists led. We all stand side by side, shoulder to shoulder, and march in a solid phalanx against the common foe—God alone being our "leader." Wherein we may chance to differ relates not to the principles we cherish, the doctrines we disseminate, or the claims we make for the colored population, whether bond or free; but solely as to the relative amount of praise or blame, of satisfaction or complaint, to be expressed or awarded concerning certain public men and measures in their bearing upon the cause so dear to us all. And herein we shall differ in opinion, more or less, according to the standpoint we occupy, the information we possess, or the ability we have to perceive and understand the relation of events in this tremendous convulsion of the country.

Sir, I do not think it is any evidence of superior fidelity to the anti-slavery cause to deal in sweeping accusations against President Lincoln, Gen. Banks, Gen. Sherman, or any other public man. Nor do I think it is to halt, or retreat, or get "behind the times," to proclaim that our cause has advanced far beyond anything we had a right to expect, and to rejoice with joy unspeakable in view of that fact. Not to do so would indicate either a morbid or prejudiced state of mind, or total blindness of vision. Within the last two years, we have witnessed a revolution in public sentiment that would be worth a whole century of labor to bring about. And shall we not be jubilant?

One word, sir, in regard to the dissolution of our Society. I have proposed a resolution to this effect: that in case the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States, forever abolishing slavery in our country, should be passed, as it probably will, by the requisite number of States, during the present year, the Board of Managers be instructed to call a special meeting of this Society, to commemorate the great and glorious event, with a view at that time to terminate the Society's existence. For what do we want of an *Anti-Slavery* Society when there is no slavery in the country? An *Anti-Slavery* Society when the slave system is annihilated—when, by the law of the land, not a human being is permitted to lay his hand too heavily upon the shoulder of his brother man! The thing is an absurdity. We shall then have done the work of abolitionism, *per se.* True, there will be other work to be done; but we shall then mingle with the great mass of the people, who have accepted abolition, and unite with them in carrying forward the struggle for equal political privileges. But *anti-slavery*, as such, dies the moment slavery dies in our country—and dies legitimately and honorably (applause). It is a vain assumption, now, for any Abolitionist to assume the very great importance of this Society in the present altered state of things. We have everywhere the mass of the people with us, applauding everything that can be said against the continuance of slavery. The ablest public men are making radical and eloquent speeches in favor of immediate and universal emancipation, and uttering the strongest condemnation of the hated system we have opposed so long. "Old things have passed away, and, behold, all things are become new." I recognize the fact, with devout gratitude to God. I will not cast imputations upon the motives of any man, or any body of men, for this sudden change, nor taunt them with being bayonetted up to it by Abolitionists. I have no such impeachment to make. I thank God that they are now "clothed and sitting in their right minds"; and that is all I care to know. I give them my heart and my hand (applause)—and, instead of prognosticating only evil, and filling the air with doubts and apprehensions of danger in the future, I choose rather to believe that the people have passed the Rubicon, that they have burned the bridge behind them, that they have drawn the sword and thrown away the scabbard, and never mean to make any further compromise with slavery, but do mean to annihilate it. To say that this government is disposed to put Union first and the black man afterwards, is to assert what is not true. The government does not say so. The government affirms, before the civilized world, that it puts liberty with Union!—the liberty of the black alongside of the Union, or else no Union (applause). What is gained by casting wrong imputations? What is the use of prophesying evil, only evil, and that continually? Is that the way to encourage the people to go forward? If their faces are simply turned Zionward, let us thank God that they are so turned, even if they have not taken a step toward Zion. Their faces are in the right direction; and God speed them onward until they reach Zion, and sing its songs of praise! (Loud applause.) Surely, God has given to us, during the past two years, such overwhelming evidences of the triumphant progress of our cause, and events have followed one another so rapidly, that we really have not begun to appreciate them. A single one of them, a few years ago, would have made us hold jubilant meetings all over the land. Our national District, where the slave trade had its headquarters; where a haughty slave oligarchy held supreme sway; where a Massachusetts Senator could not testify against the barbarism of slavery without being smitten down by the hand of the bloody-minded slaveholder; now cleansed, purified, redeemed, and freedom, free schools, free thought and free speech dominant! Why, if we had nothing but that great change to contemplate, it would be worth holding congratulatory meetings from one end of the country to the other! And then the repeal of the accursed Fugitive Slave law—why, it alone signs the death-warrant of slavery! For have we not always said, that if the slaves could not be hunted on free soil, no border slave State could long exist, and hence that the whole slave system would perish speedily? Now there is not a slave held in the land who is not permitted by the United States government to take his liberty where and when he will, and no man may dare pursue him, or lay claim to any property in him (applause). Where everything is so encouraging, beyond our highest expectations, I do not understand why there should be so much distrust in regard to the future. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." One would think, from what we have heard here to-day, that there has been no gain for liberty; nevertheless, there has been an immense gain, and we are advancing towards perfect justice every hour. Slavery goes down by the righteous judgment of God; and it is not in the power of men or devils to save it from extinction. With it will soon pass away those proscriptive laws and usages against the free people of color to which it has given birth. Let us, then, cheer on the vast multitude whose hearts are beginning to palpitate with our own. Let us rejoice that they have entirely changed, in spirit and feeling, towards us and the cause of the oppressed; and not say or insinuate that they will betray freedom for Union the earliest moment they can. Let us be just, magnanimous, hopeful, coöperative, and thus stimulate them to complete the work so well begun. That is the philosophy upon which I act (applause).

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.

[Extract.]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Allow me one word, which I utter with the greater pleasure and frankness, because my friend, Mr. Garrison, has left the Hall, that there is nothing more unpleasant to me than any allusion to him and myself as antagonists. Whatever may have been the immediate cause of my anti-slavery life and action, he is, in so true and full a sense, the creator of the Anti-Slavery *Movement*, that I may well say I have never uttered an anti-slavery word which I did not owe to his inspiration; I have never done an anti-slavery act of which the primary merit was not his. More than that: in my experience of nigh thirty years, I have never met the anti-slavery man or woman who had struck any effectual blow at the slave system in this country, whose action was not born out of the heart and conscience of Wm. Lloyd Garrison (loud applause). I do not forget the half-dozen anti-slavery sermons which sparkle along our history—the quiet scruples of some tender consciences—the passive disapprobation of Friends, their protection of individual fugitives, or the devoted life of Lundy—still, the Anti-Slavery *Movement* is Garrison's work, and, as agitators, we all owe to him the breath of our nostrils; and I do not see to-day, that in regard to the great principles of the cause there is any difference between him and myself. In our speeches to-day, we have both wandered, on the one side and the other, from the direct line off to the consideration of motives. But it was in 1833 that Mr. Garrison wrote the words which my friend Downing has read to us, as the Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Society—"We believe that all persons of color, who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted *forthwith* to the enjoyment of the same privileges and the exercise of the same prerogatives as others." It was his own pen, that same year, which drew the third article of our Constitution, affirming, as my friend read, that we were to "aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, that thus they may share an equality with the whites of civil and religious privileges." That was from his pen on the 4th day of December, 1833. This very morning, that same hand writes these words:

"Resolved, That Congress should lose no time in submitting to the people an amendment to the Constitution, making the electoral law uniform in all the States, without regard to complexional distinctions."

What can be better Alpha and Omega to the Anti Slavery Gospel than this Declaration of Sentiments and this resolution offered to us to-day? It is the same great leader—whether he accept the title or not—who drafts both these declarations of sentiment and purpose for the Anti Slavery cause. Whatever, therefore, may be the conclusion of this debate, I recognize the same leading mind at the head of the anti-slavery struggle. In times past, none but his own modest lips ever dreamed of denying him that title; in time to come, we shall need, find and welcome the same leader. . . . .

KENTUCKY IDEAS RESPECTING SLAVERY AND FREEDOM.

GOV. BRAMLETTE ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

I HEREWITH lay before you, for your consideration and action, a Joint Resolution of Congress, approved on the 1st inst., proposing to the Legislatures of the several States a Thirteenth article to the Constitution of the United States......I might content myself with submitting this question to your action without incurring the responsibility of any suggestions; but upon a matter of such vital importance to the people of Kentucky—involving, as I believe, their well-being and security—such course would not comport with my views of constitutional obligation, and the duties and responsibilities of the office of Chief Executive of the Commonwealth. The views of the present Executive upon the subject of the proposed amendment, as a national question, are known and of record. We have no new lights upon this subject which could in the least modify or change those views. We still believe it was not wise, as a national policy, pending the rebellion, to propose amendments to the Constitution which fix, irrevocably, an ultimatum of adjustment that had better have been held under the control of the government. But our views of national policy have been overruled by those having authority to determine; and the question now presented, though national in its operation, is local for our consideration. We are not now called upon to consider the policy or impolicy of national action, but the bearing which this measure is to have upon us as a State and people. We should therefore approach it divested of all partisan asperities and sectional passions and prejudices, and meet it with the dispassionate consideration and prudent judgment of statesmen charged with the highest interests and most important securities and trusts of a brave, manly and patriotic people. *No intelligent man, whatever may be his desires upon the subject, can hope for the perpetuation of slavery in Kentucky.* Every State which surrounds us has abolished slavery. The laws for rendition of fugitives are repealed, and there is no possible hope of their reënactment. *The most valuable slaves have enlisted in the army or fled to other States; those that remain are hopelessly demoralized, and rendered not only valueless, but burdensome.* These facts are of general notoriety and indisputable. Although much of this state of affairs has been brought about by what we have deemed uncalled for and unnecessary interference with the subject of slavery, yet it has been *part of the bitter fruits of rebellion;* and the facts exist and cannot be changed by denying them or closing our eyes to their existence. Whether the proposed amendment be ratified by you or not, *slavery has been foredoomed by rebellion, and cannot be maintained.* It is not, therefore, a question for us to determine—shall slavery continue or not?—but *how shall it end.* Though we may believe that the several States should have been left to adjust this question, yet will *mere mode* compensate for the dangers, hazards and expenditures which we are likely to incur by refusing the mode proposed, and standing out for our own, which we deem better? In a word, if you agree that slavery cannot be continued, *is it not better to accept a practical and legitimate mode of ridding our people of all the dangers and harassments of its further continuance than risk the dangerous ordeal through which we must pass in order to reach our own mode of accomplishing the same end?* Will the difference in abolishing it, by amendment to the Federal Constitution or by amendment to the State Constitution, justify the hazards of the experiment? The people of Kentucky have never permitted the negro to intercept their loyalty to our government. They have ever thrust aside and refused to accept the negro as an issue. We have steadily adhered to our government, regardless of the effect upon the status of the negro. We have opposed incorporating the negro as a national element of strife. *Shall we now permit the negro to stand between us and our government?* If of any value, the negro is certainly of less value now than when we refused to accept him as an issue. Will we not by refusing, upon some reasonable terms, to accept the proposed amendment, permit the negro to interpose between us and our government? We are not to blame for such an issue, for we ever opposed it; but *will we not have cause to reproach ourselves, if, at this late period of our struggle, we accept such an issue?* These questions are suggestive, and I will not elaborate them. But what have we a right, under all the circumstances, to demand as just and reasonable, if we accept the proposed amendment? Our slave property was assessed for taxation in 1860, before the war began, at $107,494,527. In 1863, the effect of the rebellion and unfriendly legislation reduced the valuation to $57,511,770; and in 1864 to $34,179,246. In view of the sufferings of our people, the loyal stand ever maintained by our State, our losses by the direct and indirect action of our government pending our struggle to maintain our national life, may we not, with confidence, demand, as a condition of our acceptance of the proposed amendment, that Congress shall appropriate the last assessed value of slaves—$34,179,246—to the use of the State, to be used in compensating the owners for the slaves so emancipated? England, in the act of 1833, abolishing slavery, appropriated £20,000,000 to compensate the owners. It cannot be that our government will be less just, if we accept the amendment upon condition that the assessed value of 1864 be paid to the State to compensate owners who are to be affected by the proposed amendment; the acceptance to be declared when notice of the appropriation is officially given to the Chief Executive of the Commonwealth. Those who believe that the adoption of this amendment will have the effect to shorten our struggle with rebellion cannot refuse to vote the appropriation, as it will, upon their own theory, be economical. Those who hold to our views cannot refuse it because it is just and right. The past is beyond our control; the present only is ours. But by wise and prudent councils the future may be shaped by us. *Deprived of all control over the past, shall we cheat ourselves of the future by inconsiderately or rashly throwing away the present opportunity to shape our destiny?* The good of our own people—security to them of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—should be our chief and great concern in acting upon this momentous question. To forfeit present benefit and imperil future security, because of disapprobation of the past, is not the wisdom of the safe and prudent statesman. If we could defeat the final adoption of the proposed amendment by our refusal to ratify it, the policy or

impolicy of so doing would then be a legitimate question of debate. *But whether we ratify or not, the end must come; it is a fixed fact; slavery must end.* Shall we accept the fact, although we had no hand in bringing it about, or shall we close our eyes to its existence? Though we may close our eyes to the fact, yet it will still remain and will affect us as materially as if we looked upon and accepted it. By refusing the conditional acceptance suggested, will you greatly endanger the quiet and security of our people, and subject them to untold harassments by protracting the issue, without the possibility of gaining anything thereby? *Will you not risk the loss of all against nothing to be gained?* Better accept it unconditionally than to reject it altogether. The prudent farmer, after the storm has swept over his orchard and torn a branch from a favorite tree, leaving it attached by only a few shattered fibres, will cut off the branch and cast it away, that it may not draw the sap which would go to heal the wound to feed for a season the sickly life of the torn branch, then carry its decay to the parent trunk. Shall we be less wise? Would he be deemed wise or prudent, who, having an arm shattered by a bushwhacker, and pronounced by the surgeon to be incurable save by amputation, yet would obstinately refuse amputation, solely upon the ground that he was not shot in open battle or fair fight? Would such refusal change the character of the wound or lessen the danger of mortification and death? *Shall we refuse to have the shattered limb of slavery amputated, when none can think of saving it, merely because it has been destroyed by rebels and Abolitionists combined?* As you love our country and would save our suffering people from evils which no pen can adequately trace, I beseech you to lay aside all passion, prejudice, and partisan asperities, and meet *this gravest and most vital question to the present and future of our State* which you may ever be called upon to solve, like statesmen and patriots who comprehend the crisis and dare to meet the responsibilities of the occasion. If not willing to act without first consulting your constituents, better take time to consult them, and then act, than postpone this question to the future. Such are the convictions which, deeply impressed upon my mind, are freely and frankly stated for your consideration.

THOS. E. BRAMLETTE, Governor of Kentucky.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1865.

SUBJUGATION.

THE day of the rebellion is drawing to its evening, soon to close in the blackness of darkness. Sherman's triumphal entry into Columbia, the capital of the nursing mother of this transcendent treason, and the consequent evacuation of Charleston, soon to be followed by that of Wilmington, Augusta, and every place where a stand would have been made by the rebels had they a leg to stand upon—all show that the end is at hand, even at the door. While Grant holds the rebellion by the throat at Richmond, Sherman is dealing it deadly blows in its vital parts which it cannot long survive. His victories are the more glorious for the little bloodshed that attends them. His adversaries vanish before his coming and slink away from his presence. For all that now appears, the whole country between Columbia and Richmond lies open to him. The country itself is his base of operations, as one of the Richmond papers bitterly admits. South Carolina cowers before his victorious legions, and the boasted resistance which she was to offer with fire and sword has dwindled into nothingness. The blood of this war is more largely upon her head than upon that of any other State, and now the Avenger of Blood is upon her. She should be punished and humiliated, her crest draggled in the dust, her insolence rebuked and her pretensions made a by-word and a mockery. Georgia and North Carolina and Tennessee will rejoice scarcely less than New England in her chastisement. For her airs of superiority have been flaunted in the eyes of her nearer sisters even more than in those of the more remote. If slavery be an element of military strength, she should be the strongest of all, for she has more slaves than any in proportion to her population. If of wealth, she should be the richest, and yet a single rural county of Massachusetts could have bought her out at her own valuation before the war broke out. If of civilization, she should be the most humane and enlightened, and yet she was the mother of Brooks, the cowardly assassin, and of Keitt, his more cowardly accomplice. Whatever measure of punishment may fall upon her, her capital and her sea-port, it cannot be beyond that of her demerits. But her very pusillanimity, born of slavery, will probably save her from her deserts, by the readiness of her submission. Little did she dream when she evoked the devil of secession that she would be made his prey in this manner and degree! To owe it to the mercy of a Yankee General, to whom she could not or dared not offer a serious resistance, that she is not laid desolate and in ashes!

There is no part of the poetical justice which is to mark the catastrophe of the tragedy of which the South is the scene and the world the spectators that will more commend itself to their sense of the fitness of things than whatever punishment shall fall to the lot of South Carolina. It will be hard to bear, though it will fall far short of her crimes. She will have to submit to the emancipation of her slaves and to the reorganization of her social state on the basis of universal freedom, and this under supervision of military authority. For we assume that the due application of the Constitutional Amendment to the more vicious and malignant States cannot be left in the hands of the enraged and revengeful rebels themselves. This is a point at which the country cannot begin to look in earnest too soon. The reduction of the rebels and the passage of the Amendment, or the recognition of the Proclamation by the Supreme Court, are now as good as accomplished facts. The question now to be considered and settled in advance, is, how are these two facts to be made to work together for the redemption of the blacks and the advancement of the National glory and prosperity? That their due reconciliation is not to be left at the mercy of the fanatic slaveholders is a statement largely partaking of the character of a truism. To leave the suppression of theft to thieves, of grog-shops to their keepers, and of brothels to their inmates were worldly wisdom and statesmanship in the comparison. And yet this is the very absurdity to which a party, composed of members of all the other parties, will try to commit the nation. Under the fair pretences of freedom to regulate their own concerns, they will strive to leave the black race still at the mercy of their sometime tyrants. But this attempt will not succeed. Certainly not, if pains be taken to show how idle any law must be where the means and the disposition to put it in force are lacking. The slave States are to be subjugated, in the sense in which they use the word. Nothing short of it will answer the purpose and make the war justifiable in the eyes of posterity and foreign nations. But it will not be the subjugation of Poland by Russia, of Hungary and Venetia by Austria, or of India by England. It will be merely a compelled obedience to the sovereign will of the Nation, determined that the occasion of this war shall be destroyed so that it shall know no second and no third of these its bloody fruits. The Nation has the right to do this in its own self-defence, and must do it, or it will ridiculously fail, and its last end will be worse than the first. And we have confidence enough in the common sense and the enlightened self-interest of the North to feel very sure that it will not be wanting to itself.

As soon as it is demonstrated that force has failed to secure the Slave empire for which it was first invoked, fraud and guile will be called in to save what can be saved of the remains of the old system. Legislative and judicial resistance will be offered and endeavors will be made to purchase compromise by offers to grant a portion of the whole which they have forfeited on condition of keeping the remainder. And there will not be wanting advocates, in unexpected quarters, of what will be euphoniously termed "a policy of magnanimity!" A magnanimity that shall sacrifice the rights of the innocent to buy back the hollow loyalty of the guilty! And that when they are at our mercy! Such folly it is not supposable can be consummated, though it will most assuredly be essayed. The most probable shape which the devil of slavery will assume, when he finds that he is cast out in his own proper form, will be to affect a consent to the new conditions and only ask that he may be allowed the privilege of reducing them to practice for himself. A demand that the regulation of the details of Emancipation in each separate slave State should be left to itself will certainly be made, as the most reasonable and self-evident of propositions. A demand equivalent to a surrender of the whole point at issue, for the new estate of the liberated bondman would be but another name for slavery. As Milton says of Priest and Presbyter, "New Freedman would only be Old Slave writ large." A state of things not to be contemplated with patience and still less endured. And there is but one remedy, or rather preventive, in the case. And that is the holding of the Rebel States as conquered territories and governing them, as far as the supremacy of the National laws is concerned, and especially those relating to Emancipation, by the military arm, wisely directed by the civil mind. There is much talk of the necessity of the preparation of the Slave for freedom. It were much wiser to insist on the need of it to the Master. The slave will accommodate himself to his new relations easily enough—the master with all the difficulties disappointed ambition, thwarted designs and baffled malice, inspired with superior intelligence, can contrive. There must be an armed force within reach of every slave and every master, with constant and intelligent supervision of both, in the especial interest of the slave, and this until the new machinery or its new adaptation runs easily and naturally. This we hold to be necessary, under any possible guaranty of political privileges to the blacks, for they will need intelligent and active protection for a sufficient season even for the exercise of those privileges. Nor would it require a large force, in proportion to the power of the nation and the greatness of the interests at stake, to carry out this supervision. At the head of such a reorganization, with forcible guaranties, such a man as Gen. Butler would be the right man in the right place.

Something of this kind must be adopted or Peace will rob us of all, or almost all, that made the war a tolerable evil. The pretexts on which an armed administration of the rebel States for a season, of the danger of military despotism, of damage to republican institutions, may be met by a ready reply. A military despotism has been the normal political condition of all the slave States while they continued such. A despotism extending to the stranger within their gates as to their men-servants and their maid-servants. A despotism none the less terrible because its armed instruments were mobs and not armies, and because it disguised itself in the insignia of Democracy. The Republicanism of the slave States is now seen to be the most transparent of Shams, and it is to save those communities from the horrors of that despotism under which they had suffered so long and which at last brought this war upon them, that the Nation is bound to exercise a qualified protectorate over them. It is constitutionally bound to secure to each State a republican form of government. An obligation which it has been slow enough to fulfil. What we suggest is the only way in which it can be discharged. The whole genius of our people and of our institutions forbids the idea that this guardianship could be continued an hour after it had ceased to be necessary. Fair play to the negroes whom we shall have set free, in the matter of wages, of education, of suffrage, of the legal protection of courts of justice, everything, demands that a sufficient power stand watch over the freedmen and their old masters for a sufficient time. And this should be seen to at once, for we shall incontinently hear the voice of the charmer striving to bewitch our ears and to cheat us out of realities with shows and of deeds with words. Everything has worked well together towards this solution of our problem, the long resistance of the rebels, the inevitable destruction of slavery, the distinct issue made up by the Rebel Commissioners and the President, and the steady progress of our arms. The rebels have taught us the word "Subjugation," and we must teach them its political and logical meaning, for their own advantage as much as for that of their emancipated bondmen.

THE PROHIBITORY AMENDMENT.

THE Amendment to the Federal Constitution abolishing and forever prohibiting slavery in the United States, lately proposed by Congress to the Legislatures of the several States, has already been approved and ratified by the Legislatures of seventeen States (including *loyal* Old Virginia) as follows:

1. February	1. Illinois—Senate and House.
2. February	2. Michigan—Senate and House.
3. February	1. Maryland—House; 31, Senate.
4. February	2. Rhode Island—Senate and House.
5. February	2. New York—Senate; 31, Assembly.
6. February	3. Massachusetts—Senate and House.
7. February	3. Pennsylvania—Senate and House.
8. February	7. West Virginia—Senate and House.
9. February	7. Missouri—Senate and House.
10. February	8. Maine—Senate and House.
11. February	8 Virginia—Senate; 9th, House.
12. February	8. Ohio—Senate and House.
13. February	8. Minnesota—Senate and House.
14. February	8. Kansas—Senate and House.
15. February	10. Indiana—Senate; 13th, House.
16. February	16. Nevada—Senate and House.
17. February	21. Wisconsin—Senate and House.

REJECTED.

1. February	8. Delaware—Senate and House.

States yet to Vote:

Connecticut,	Florida,
Vermont,	Iowa,
New Hampshire,	California,
New Jersey,	Oregon,
Kentucky,	Arkansas,
Tennessee,	Louisiana,
North Carolina,	Alabama,
South Carolina,	Mississippi,
Georgia,	Texas—18.

Of the States yet to act, the following are *sure* to ratify the Amendment: Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Iowa, California, Oregon, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas—9. These, added to those which have already approved the Amendment, will make 26—within *one* of three-fourths of *all* the States If we get either New Jersey or Kentucky, the utter extinction and prohibition of slavery will be written in the fundamental law of the Nation! That New Jersey will vote to ratify we have very strong hopes, for we do not believe the Democratic leaders in that State *dare* go into the next election as the champions of slavery. They must know that upon such an issue defeat would be all but certain. Nor do we altogether despair of Kentucky. If the present Legislature is not up to the mark, the next one probably will be, for the anti-slavery sentiment is growing in that State with immense rapidity. The change within the last year falls little short of a complete revolution.

The legitimacy of the State governments of Arkansas, Tennessee, Louisiana and (loyal Eastern) Virginia is, we know, denied by many loyal men; but it is our belief that the Nation will accept the votes of ratification of the Legislatures of those States respectively as legal and constitutional. We observe that the Secretary of State, in sending out the official notices of the proposed Amendment, has recognized the government at Alexandria as the government of the State of Virginia, and we presume he has recognized in the same way the governments of other States similarly situated. The law, we understand, requires that when the Legislature of any State ratifies the Amendment, official notice shall be sent to the Secretary of State at Washington. When the number of such notifications amounts to three-fourths of the whole number of States, the Secretary is required "forthwith to cause the said Amendment to be published in the newspapers authorized to promulgate the laws, with his certificate specifying the States by which the same may have been adopted, and that the same has become valid to all intents and purposes, as a part of the Constitution of the United States." The action of Mr. Seward in notifying the government at Alexandria of the proposed Amendment would seem to indicate a willingness if not a purpose on his part to recognize that government as entitled to speak in the name of Virginia; and certainly if that government is held to be legitimate, no doubt can arise in respect to the governments of Louisiana, Arkansas and Tennessee, every one of which is certain to ratify the Amendment. We presume, therefore, that when 27 States, including these, shall have notified the State Department of their approval of the Amendment, Mr. Seward will make haste to certify "that the same has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States," and if any attempt shall be made to go behind that certificate and deny its legality, we think we may depend on our "regenerated and disenthralled" Supreme Court for a decision that will not put the Nation to shame.

THE FREEDMAN OF ALEXANDRIA.

MY DEAR MR. JOHNSON: Will you acknowledge $10 as received for the Jacobs School, Alexandria, from Mary Chase, the proceeds of a Fair held by her and her young friends in Valley Falls, R. I.

I enclose a letter just received from Mrs. Jacobs's daughter, Louisa, one of the teachers in the School, which I shall be glad to have you publish in the STANDARD, that those who have helped to furnish the School-room may see how much pleasure they have given.

Very truly, yours, SARAH RUSSELL MAY.

Leicester, Feb. 14, 1865.

ALEXANDRIA, Feb. 6, 1865.

DEAR MRS. MAY: I trust you will pardon our tardy acknowledgment and thanks for things received for our School-room and Soldiers. Do not attribute the delay to a want of thankfulness, or full appreciation of the goodness of our Northern friends, who by their constant interest and labor give cheering evidence of their sympathy for the people with whom we work.

The cards, pictures and slates give the children much delight.

Had they ever read Fairy stories they would in all probability consider their Northern friends a species of those same mysterious people who showered gifts without the asking or taking of pay.

Special thanks are due Mr. Balch for his beautiful map of the United States. The children are daily instructed from it. Our School is doing well.

In numbers it is not so large as last term. Some of the scholars went to other Schools, owing to the delay in plastering the building. Its additional comfort is more than compensation for the waiting. We look with pride upon our white walls, rendered doubly attractive with their adorning of pictures and maps. The Societies by whom our teachers are employed have agreed to furnish books—so at present the only actual want is of more desks and benches, and we shall be grateful should you think proper to give the money you have in hand for these purposes.

The hospital supplies were most acceptable. The peaches seemed providential. The day previous to receiving the boxes a poor sick soldier had asked if I could get him a peach, and I carried a can of them up to the Hospital. As I entered my eye fell on his empty bed. The anticipated pleasure I was to give through your kindness vanished, and I could only sigh that I had come too late. Hospital affairs are in a favorable condition. I think when you were here we had no branch hospitals, now we have two. Both comfortable churches.

We have a New Superintendent, Capt. Ferree. He is humane and does not ignore the fact that the Freedmen are as human as other men, whose long life of hardship and oppression is an appeal more forcible than language to the justice and humanity that shall hereafter be exercised towards them. These men who were once thought not worthy of freedom are rising as rapidly in the scale of civilization as any class of people could under the circumstances.

Their industry, united with the determination to do for themselves, puts to flight the lame argument of their enemies that they cannot be self-supporting. A few days since I went to a small settlement built up by Freedmen, called Newtown. I contrasted their homes of to-day with those of a year ago. The comparison was favorable. The inmates were more tidy in person, while the rooms of many of them were clean an orderly.

From the walls hung pictures which, though of the cheapest kind, contained each a lesson, from the crowned head of the Saviour of mankind down to Abraham Lincoln, the Emancipator of American Slavery.

Mrs. May, do thank the dear children North in the name of the Freed children South that God has put it into their hearts to remember those who have not been blessed as themselves. Their gifts have rippled like waves of sun light through many a little heart that never until now felt the touch of sympathy and love. Let no child think her mite too small to help some needy one.

Very truly yours,

LOUISA JACOBS.

THE AMENDMENT IN KENTUCKY.—On the first page will be found the message of the Governor of Kentucky recommending the ratification of the Emancipation Amendment by the Legislature of that State. The Governor, it will be seen, makes a strong appeal, shaping his argument to the interests and prejudices of the people of Kentucky. He recommends the passage of an act of ratification, conditioned upon the payment by the National government of $34,179,246—the assessed value of the slaves in 1864—to compensate owners who are to be affected by the proposed amendment; "the acceptance to be declared when notice of the appropriation is officially given to the Chief Executive of the Commonwealth." While pleading thus earnestly for conditional ratification of the Amendment, he frankly says: "Better accept it *unconditionally* than reject it altogether." "No intelligent man," says the Governor, "whatever may be his desires, can hope for the perpetuation of slavery in Kentucky. Every State which surrounds us has abolished slavery. The laws for the rendition of fugitives are repealed, and there is no possible hope of their reënactment. The most valuable slaves have enlisted in the army or fled to other States; those that remain are hopelessly demoralized, and rendered not only valueless but burdensome." It seems, then, that the Governor wants the National government to pay over $34,000,000, for "property" that is not only "valueless, but burdensome" to its owners! We don't think it will be easy to convince Uncle Sam of the justice of such a demand. There *was* a time when Kentucky and the other border States might have had compensation for freeing their slaves; but she haughtily spurned the proposal, and must now abide the consequences of her own folly. Her refusal to ratify the Amendment will not, as the Governor admits, defeat it, and she must choose between unconditional ratification and a dogged and vain resistance to what is inevitable.

We are sorry to observe that a majority of the Judiciary Committee of the Kentucky Senate has recommended that the Amendment be rejected. Four of the Committee united in this recommendation, one was for ratification upon the condition suggested by the Governor, and one (Mr. Fiske) was for unconditional ratification. In spite of this, we are not without hope that the Legislature will yet have the wisdom to pass an act of ratification. There are inveterate prejudices to be overcome, but Gov. Bramlette and Senator Guthrie have great influence, and their counsels may yet prevail.

LOUISIANA.—In the Senate on Saturday Mr. Trumbull, from the Committee on the Judiciary, reported a resolution recognizing the State government of Louisiana, and the right of that State to Senators in Congress. No action was taken.

In the House on the 17th, Mr. Dawes, from the Committee on Elections, reported a resolution to admit Mr. A. P. Field to a seat from the Second and Mr. Mann from the Third Congressional District of Louisiana. The Committee had previously reported in favor of admitting Mr. Bonzano from the First Congressional District of that State. The report lies over for future consideration.

THE REBEL DEBT.—The Senate, on the 17th, adopted the following joint resolution, offered by Mr. Sumner:

Whereas, Certain persons have put in circulation the report that on the suppression of the Rebellion the Rebel Loan may be recognized in whole or in part by the United States; and whereas, such a report is calculated to give a false value to said Rebel Debt or Loan; therefore,

Resolved by the Senate (the House concurring), that Congress hereby declares the Rebel Debt or Loan as simply an agency of the Rebellion, which the United States can never, under any circumstances, recognize in any part or in any way.

We hope the House will concur.

VIRGINIA.—The Senate has laid on the table the credentials of Joseph Segar, claiming a seat in that body from the State of Virginia, by a vote of yeas 29, nays 13.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, Feb. 20th, 1865.

ON Sunday, the 16th of February, 1845, twenty years ago, Theodore Parker preached his first sermon in Boston; or, more accurately speaking, the first in his Boston ministry. A memorial sermon in regard to him was preached on Sunday, the 12th inst., at the Melodeon, before the Twenty-eighth Congregational Society of Boston, by Rev. S. R. Calthrop, a gentleman of great merit, high talents, and admirable powers as a preacher, who is for the present officiating in that pulpit. He paid a tribute of affectionate respect and admiration to Mr. Parker's memory, without pretending to make a summary of the excellencies of his character. Justly to analyze that character, he said, we should need at least five juries of experts; one of scholars, one of theologians, one of men of science, one of pastors, and one of philanthropists. He proposed to speak of him at that time only in the last of these relations.

The depth and strength of Parker's philanthropy resulted from his abiding realization of the fact that man in being the child of God, is the brother of man. He firmly believed, and constantly taught, the immense debt owed by every man to the race, and the duty of every one, in proportion as he had knowledge, or strength, or wealth, or power of any kind, to use it for the benefit of those around him who were in need. He intensely felt the fact that if one member suffer, all the members must suffer with it. His philanthropy was not only a principle but a feeling. His heart was so big that he could not help working to supply, so far as his power extended, the needs of his fellow-men.

One of the most active manifestations of this tendency in Mr. Parker was called forth by the existence of slavery in this country. He earned by manifold, and assiduous, and incessant labors in this direction, the right to be counted with Mr. Garrison and Mr. Phillips as an eminent leader against the host of slavery. From this pulpit came more anti-slavery preaching than from any three others in the country. His lectures, like his sermons, were of immense service in awakening the nation to its duty to the slave; and his house was always an asylum for the fugitive.

What would Mr. Parker now be doing if he were again among us? His life was spent in giving help; in arousing men to the consciousness of their faults and deficiencies, and in stimulating them to assist their brethren in need. Can we doubt what would be his special work in our special circumstances? After marking, by an hour of appropriate rejoicing, the wonderful progress of events in liberating the slave, would he not of course, and at once, apply himself to the immense work of helping the black man to the attainment of his rights, of obtaining for him the recognition of citizenship as well as freedom, of demanding the allowance of his rightful position as an integral part of our nation, of aiding to enlighten, refine and elevate him? Faithful still to the idea of helping those who are most in need, he would apply himself to the supply of the necessities of the starving, destitute and ignorant freedmen. Few give to them, or work or care for them, compared with those who give, and work, and care, for our white soldiers. To help the victims at once of prejudice and misfortune would be now, as heretofore, his chosen work.

Men are raising money for a monument to Edward Everett. It is well. Let his merits have the praise that appropriately belongs to them. But Parker, who did so much more than Everett, he also should have a monument; or rather, *we* need to build one to him, in recognition of his merit and our obligation. Would a bronze or a marble statue satisfy our feeling, or do justice to his characteristic excellencies? The recollection of his teachings and his character, combined with the present necessities of our country, gives us a better suggestion. Let us do, in his name, the work which he was obliged to leave undone. Let us apply ourselves zealously to the department of labor which he urged upon our attention, and of which he gave us the example.

Mr. Calthrop then announced that there had already been formed, by some who recognized the truth and importance of the ideas he had been stating, "The Theodore Parker Freedmen's Aid Society." To give to the funds of this Association, and to join in its labors, to make it eminently useful to those whose necessities have called it forth, would be, he thought, the best monument to Mr. Parker, and the simplest and clearest of duties for those who love his character and his work.

A task of immense extent and of immense importance is before us and before the nation. If some of the black race need only to be let alone, a far greater number need active help, instruction, sympathy and encouragement. Great numbers of them, in the present transition state, need food, clothing and shelter. All their children need schools; and the whole mass of them need faithful, diligent, zealous, self-denying teachers and helpers.

Mr. Calthrop called for members, funds, and laborers for this Society. It is proposed, as a beginning, to send three teachers to labor among the freedmen, and to enlarge the sphere of operations as circumstances shall admit.

I trust that this enterprise will prosper, and will give substantial aid to its predecessors in the same field; but we must not forget that a vast amount of the old anti-slavery work is yet to be done; the work of exposing and answering, and combatting that villanous old prejudice, first-born of slavery, which brands the negro as an inferior being, and sets itself in resolute opposition to every movement in his favor. A specimen of this tyrannical and contemptible spirit now lies before me, embodied in a leading article in the *Eastern Argus* (8th inst.), published at Portland, Me. Its title is the inquiry—"Is there to be an end of Negro Agitation?"

It correctly assumes that emancipation will be only one step in the progress of the radicals, and that the friends of the negro will labor to have him placed "on full social and political equality with the whites." It anticipates that the nation will "have Sambo for breakfast, Sambo for dinner, and Sambo for supper through a course of years." No sooner is the Constitutional Amendment through Congress, it dolefully cries, "than Sumner must get a black lawyer admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States." And it proceeds to utter the dreadful foreboding, that "if his white brethren will only give him causes to argue, we may soon expect to see him outstrip Sumner and Wilson in the amount of his Supreme Court business." It complains grievously that Gen. Butler is making projects for the benefit of "his black associates," proposing to have their children admitted to the Naval Academy, the West Point Military School, etc., etc. And it suggests as not improbable that "we may see some prominent Republican aspirant for Presidential honors take to himself a negro wife in order to get the negro vote."

Well, supposing that all this should take place, where would be the harm? If a member of the party that he hates should take a wife from the race that he hates, how will that hurt *him?* How will it affect him at all, otherwise than by bringing grist to his mill, and giving his Democratic paper a new grievance to howl about? Suppose negro boys *are* admitted to the naval and military schools! If they are decidedly inferior, won't that give a better chance for distinction and promotion to his white boys of Maine? Even if his theory of negro inferiority should prove false, will it be a great loss to the nation to have even a better lawyer than Sumner in the Supreme Court, or a yet abler debater than Wilson in the Senate? The change now in progress must certainly be for the better in one way or another.

I see another advantage in prospect from the uprising of well-qualified negroes to take their places in our public institutions. If the class of politicians, lawyers, speakers and writers represented by the editor of the *Eastern Argus* will only carry out the principles and feelings they profess, and retire in disgust from competition with black men in the Supreme Court, in Congress, and in the State Courts and Legislatures, we should have these bodies purified from the meanest, most narrow-minded, most vulgar and most vicious of those who at present occupy them. Such a change would leave us unspeakably the gainers in the moral character and influence of our institutions, even if something were lost (which I do not apprehend) in point of talent.

NORTH.

MRS F. WATKINS HARPER will deliver the fourth lecture of the course before the "Social, Civil and Statistical Association of the Colored People of Pennsylvania," in Concert Hall, Philadelphia, on Monday evening next. Her subject will be "The Cause and Effects of the War." We hope she will have a full house.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 19, 1865.

SEVERAL election cases have been reported to the House from Louisiana and Arkansas. It is impossible to stave off a discussion of the reconstruction question much longer, for it is involved in these cases. The Committee of Elections recommend the admission of three claimants from Louisiana out of five, and of two out of three from Arkansas. In Louisiana the principle adhered to was this—whenever the voters were sufficiently numerous to constitute a majority of the loyal residents, and there was a military condition which did not interfere with a fair election, the rights of the member elect are recognized. A respectable constituency is necessary first, and next a peaceful election. Claimants from Virginia have frequently been rejected by the Committee of Elections upon the ground that there were so few voters that in point of fact there was not a loyal population to represent, or because the territory was so overrun by military, Union and rebel, that a quiet and fair election was impossible. How the House will decide these cases it is impossible to foresee. Few members have expressed any opinion upon them, and very strong arguments can be made upon both sides. If any one doubts this statement, let him take up the majority and minority reports in the case of M. F. Bonzano of New Orleans. Mr. Dawes argues with great ability that Mr. Bonzano is entitled to his seat, and of course that the State government of Louisiana is entitled to recognition. He says:

"This election depends for its validity upon the effect which the House is disposed to give to the efforts to reorganize a State government in Louisiana, which have here been briefly recited. The districting of the State for representatives, and the fixing of the time for holding the election, were the act of the Convention. Indeed, the election of Governor and other State officers, as well as the existence of the Convention itself, as well as its acts, are all parts of the same movements.

"It is objected to their validity, that they neither originated in, nor followed any pre-existing law of the State or nation. But the answer to this objection lies in the fact that, in the nature of the case, neither a law of the State or nation to meet the case was a possibility. The State was attempting to rise out of the ruin caused by an armed *overthrow* of its laws. They had been trampled in the dust; and there existed no body in the State to make an enabling act. Congress cannot pass an enabling act for a State. It is neither one of the powers granted by the several States to the General government, nor necessary to the carrying out of any of those powers; and all 'the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, *or the people*.' It is preposterous to have expected at the hands of the rebel authorities in Louisiana that, previous to the overthrow of the State government, they should prepare a legal form of proceeding for its restoration. In the absence of any such legal form prepared beforehand in the State, and like absence of power on the part of the General government, under the delegated powers of the Constitution, it follows, that the power to restore a lost State government in Louisiana existed nowhere, or in 'the people,' the original source of all political power in this country. The people, in the exercise of that power, cannot be required to conform to any particular mode, for that presupposes a power to prescribe outside of themselves, which it has been seen does not exist. The *result* must be republican; for the people and the States have surrendered to the United States, to that extent, the power over their form of government in this, that 'the United States shall guarantee to every State a republican form of government.'

"It follows, therefore, that if this work of reorganizing and reëstablishing a State government was the work of the people, it was the legitimate exercise of an inalienable and inherent right, and, if republican in form, is entitled not only to recognition but to the 'guaranty' of the Constitution."

And on the other hand Mr. Smithers says:

"Has evidence been presented which authorizes this House to declare that the people of Louisiana, by any proper mode of expression, have changed the status in which they were placed by their own acts and established a republican government? Such only is the form contemplated by the Constitution; such only has any title to representation on this floor; such only is the United States bound to guarantee or authorized to recognize.

"The indispensable quality of such government is that it shall emanate from the people, and not only must it be derived from the great body, but their agency in its organization must have been voluntary. The idea of restraint is incompatible with volition. The government must not only rest on the consent of the governed, but that consent must not be procured by force or intimidation.

"It is not sufficient that the result may show that a government apparently republican has been created, but the creation must be the exercise of a will unaffected by the presence of an overawing power.

"The erection of a State government is a purely civil act. It has no affinity or connection with martial law. The civil power is alone capable to distinguish or declare the fact of its establishment or the essential conditions of its existence. The Congress of the United States is the only body having authority, primarily, to recognize the government of a State. Neither the Executive nor any subordinate military commander has capacity to incept or consummate its creation. The undersigned do not insist that an act of Congress is necessary as a prerequisite to enable the people of Louisiana to form a government, but the judgment of Congress must be passed on the result of the action of the people, in the recognition of their act, before representatives can be entitled to admission on this floor. This house must be satisfied that their Constitution is ordained in accordance with their deliberate and unforced will, before it can lend its sanction to the act or recognize its validity. Two questions, therefore, are presented for consideration:

"1. Did the great body of the loyal people of Louisiana, in fact, participate or clearly concur in the establishment of the government offered for recognition?

"2. Was their act the result of their deliberate will and voluntary choice, unprocured by military interference?

"If both these questions are affirmatively answered, then the State government set up by the Convention of 1861 is entitled to be recognized; if either is negatived, then there can be no pretence of right to such recognition or to the admission of representatives from the State of Louisiana."

The Senate will have the same subject before it upon the case of the Louisiana and Arkansas Senators. If decided at all, it must be done speedily. It is thought by some that the Senate will postpone the subject to the next Congress.

According to the latest news from South Carolina the planting aristocracy of that State are in a fearful excitement over the triumphant advance of Gen. Sherman. It would not be surprising if the rebel newspapers were to report occasional repulses to Sherman. They did it when he was crossing Georgia, and will do it again now. But the military authorities here have the utmost confidence that he will succeed in what he has undertaken. He will pass up into North Carolina and give the loyal citizens of that State a chance to support the government. One immense advantage which is derived from the active Winter operations of Sherman is this: it destroys the authority of the Richmond government in several of the rebel States. Even if Jeff. Davis and his Congress shall resolve upon reclaiming white deserters or putting a colored army into the field, they have no authority over the major part of the so-called Confederacy after Sherman has destroyed the railway system of those States. At this moment Jeff. Davis cannot execute a law in Tennessee, Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, or Florida. In Arkansas he has very little power. In North Carolina but little. He is shut up to Virginia, and if Sherman succeeds he can never escape from the Old Dominion. So that if the war is properly prosecuted and the government get the troops it asks the people for, the end of the war must be not very far off. It may not come with the Spring campaign, but it certainly is not far off. Gen. Grant needs a hundred thousand fresh men at once for his Spring campaign, and they should be furnished to him. If the Military Committee of Congress would display a little more common sense and give to drafted persons the right to procure substitutes wherever they please, a better class of men would be sent into the army. As it is, it is difficult to get good stuff for soldiers.

The House has been considering the Tax bill for several days, and it is now out of the way. The Senate will next take it up. The Military Committee are ready with a large number of amendments to the Enrolment law. The Reconstruction bill is a special order for one day next week. The Loan bill and the Tariff bill must be considered shortly. In truth the House and Senate are full of business. Mr. Sumner has charge of the Freedmen's Bureau bill in the Senate. It will probably pass—it certainly should. The opponents of the bill are numerous and active, but common sense will triumph. I have not yet been able to fathom the object which the opponents of the measure have at heart. Certain gentlemen have spent days and weeks here solely to defeat this measure. It is now too late to originate a new bill as they well know, but they adhere to their policy. The Senate will probably vote on the bill within a day or two. It is in good hands.

AVON.

"LAUS DEO."—In copying the poem with this title last week from the *Independent*, we accidentally omitted the author's name; but our readers doubtless all knew by instinct that it could have been written only by JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 12, 1865.

THE colored people of our State lately held a Convention at Harrisburg, called by the State Equal Rights League. Its primary object involved the consideration of such questions as affect the welfare and interests of this people, as regards both the present and the future, with a view to the removal of those obstacles and restrictions which impede their social progress, discourage their aspirations, and interpose themselves as barriers to the full enjoyment of their rights. Among the resolutions adopted is one which recommends every colored citizen to consider it his duty to labor for the repeal of the law that disfranchises him on the soil where he was born. Another declares that colored people should adopt the motto that self-reliance is the sure road to independence. A third sets forth that no people have been more patient, law-abiding, or enduring, or have suffered more injustice, and received less consideration than colored people. Another states that the nation, now that it has cast off slavery, should destroy restrictions that prevent this people from entering libraries, colleges, lecture-rooms, military academies, jury boxes, churches, theatres, street cars, and from voting. The following are quoted in full, and show what a laudable ambition animates the minds of our leading colored citizens, and what a kindly and benevolent spirit manifests itself towards their unfortunate brethren, whose lives have been embittered and whose souls have been blighted by the scourging curse of bondage:

Resolved, That we recommend our people everywhere to cultivate a practical knowledge of all literary, mercantile, commercial, and industrial pursuits.

Resolved, That we extend the right hand of fellowship to the freedmen of the South, and express to them our warmest sympathy and our deep concern for their welfare, prosperity and happiness; and desire to exhort them to shape their course towards frugality, the accumulation of property, and above all, to leave untried no amount of effort and self-denial to acquire knowledge, and to secure a vigorous moral and religious growth. We desire, further, to assure them of our coöperation and assistance, and that our efforts in their behalf shall be given without measure, and be limited only by our capacity to give, work and act

These are truly noble words, indicative of the most worthy ardor, and glowing with the most praiseworthy zeal and cordiality of feeling towards the hapless objects of their sympathy. They will receive with thankfulness and joy the right hand of fellowship, and this assurance of coöperation and assistance. They need sympathy, encouragement, and the aid of friendly effort thus generously offered. They need wise counsel, friendly advice, and that kindly helpfulness of act and gift which knows no abatement while there is capacity to give and work. Let the great legacy of freedom become to them a blessing indeed, practically and assuredly, and not a change that entails sorrow and misery and want, thus disappointing their joyous hopes and dreams, and compelling a contrast with their former lot that would give birth to a sigh, not, perhaps, kindling a desire to return thereto, but showing how forcibly they are reminded of the difference between their experience of freedom, and the high expectations concerning it which they had formed while in bonds.

Several members of the Legislature looked in upon the Convention, and two or three of the State Senators mingled their voices with those of the colored orators. Such countenance from such a source doubtless gave more than ordinary satisfaction to the members of the Convention. It would have the effect to encourage them, to cheer them, and to inspire them with renewed vigor in prosecuting their commendable work in behalf of their race. They owe at least one little debt of gratitude to the State Senate for a good deed done during this very week of the Convention. You are aware of the fact that the united wisdom of the Board of Presidents of our city railroads revealed itself recently in an order for an election to be held on their cars, to settle the question respecting the right of colored people to ride therein. The farce was so great that it towered into the proportions of an unmitigated humbug. All manner of fraud was perpetrated, and the mean, contemptible sponges of prejudice displayed such eagerness to make the most of this opportunity to vent their contumely towards the colored man, that injustice itself, were it a thing of life, would have blushed with shame for the zeal thus shown by its votaries. The Board of Presidents have learned by this time that their authority to settle this question, and give it a final quietus, was not worth a straw. Their action has been superseded by at least one branch of the Legislature, which has power not only to grant their charters, but to prevent their abuse. The State Senate has passed an act which prohibits the exclusion of colored persons from our street cars. We earnestly hope that the Assembly may confirm the same, and with the Governor's signature the matter will be set at rest. But how shameful it is that Harrisburg is obliged to compel Philadelphia to be just!

As State after State sets the seal of affirmation on the great event of the century, an event that will cause the last day of January to be cherished with joy and pride, the thoughts naturally turn to the States which are yet to act upon the glorious amendment. Where there is no doubt regarding the result there can be no anxiety. But who does not feel anxious concerning the decision of New Jersey? Can it be possible that she will inscribe her name in characters of infamy by the side of Delaware? In her Legislature that party which has gone hand in hand with slavery is in the ascendant. But the people there are awake. A meeting was held recently in the city of Burlington, and it was decided that petitions should be circulated far and wide for signatures, asking the Legislature to be true to the spirit of liberty in its action on the great Amendment. Strange, passing strange, that petitions should be required where duty, grandeur, eternal right, joined with the solemn and mighty importance of the work, are so vividly manifest! Let us hope that voices enough may be counted in that doubtful body of men to place New Jersey on the roll of freedom, honor and a glorious fame, and to convince us that the instincts and exactions of party will yield the supremacy to the beautiful and sublime requirements of humanity, and the dictates of an exalted patriotism.

OSCAR.

OBITUARY.

E. MARIA GOODELL.

DIED, in Canastota, N. Y., on the evening of the 22d of January, Miss E. MARIA GOODELL, only surviving daughter of Mrs. E. P. Goodell, of C., and niece of the distinguished Wm. Goodell, Esq.

Miss Goodell died of heart disease without a single moment's warning, and simply as one falling to sleep, in her chair. Her death is worthy of record in the STANDARD, because she was a member of one of our most faithful anti-slavery families, of long standing, and always faithful herself. She likewise added to her anti-slavery spirit and zeal the various Christian virtues, and endeavored to manifest her love for God and man in her daily life. Whilst, therefore, her relatives and friends mourn for her early departure, and will miss her from places of usefulness, they comfort themselves with the assurance that to such a one death must be gain, and submit themselves in resignation to the will of the Heavenly Father. In Him may they find all needed consolation and joy.

COM.

RECONSTRUCTION.—In the House on Monday Mr. Dawes of Massachusetts made an earnest speech against the bill providing a government for the States subverted or overthrown by the rebellion. He thought the bill, if passed, would afford an aylum for broken down politicians, whose presence at the South would darken the heavens like the locusts of Egypt. Instead of winning the Southern people to loyalty, it would have the effect of alienating them. The loyal people of the Southern States should be left to work out their organic law in their own way. He hoped that this bill, prescribing an iron, unbending rule, would fail to become a law. The speech elicited praise from Fernando Wood—a circumstance which must have suggested to Mr. Dawes some doubt of the soundness of his argument. The majority of the House, however, appears to be in agreement with him, for the bill was, on Tuesday, laid on the table by a vote of yeas 91, nays 63. The whole subject of reconstruction will now, we presume, be left to the decision of the next Congress.

ARKANSAS.—In the House on the 17th, Mr. Dawes, from the Committee on Elections, reported in favor of admitting Mr. Jack from the First and Mr. Johnson from the Third Congressional District of Arkansas. The report lies over for future consideration.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY HISTORY OF A YEAR.

Thirty-first Annual Report of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.

BY MARY GREW.

PRESENTED FEBRUARY 9, 1865.

THE swiftly moving panorama of the last two years has brought before us a succession of events so grand and wonderful, that our eyes are bewildered as we gaze, and our hearts overwhelmed with emotions which struggle in vain for utterance. In the midst of our fulfilled prophecies, our answered prayers, we stand astonished, and reverently exclaim, "What hath God wrought!" A year ago to-day, as we recounted the triumphs of our cause, we deplored the continued existence and the evil effects of the Fugitive Slave statute of 1850, in which our National legislation reached the acme of its shame. To-day we must look backward to find it; and, as we look, we see following it in rapid procession other dark forms of its kindred, gone to share its unhallowed grave. These are victories won against the Slave Power, whereby our National Statute Book is cleansed, and partial justice awarded to an insulted and injured race; yet they are almost forgotten in the grander triumphs over which we sing pæans to-day. And while, with quivering lip and full heart, we take up the song, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth good will to ransomed slaves and a repentant Nation!" we only half realize the meaning of the words, "Maryland is Free"; "Louisiana has abolished slavery"; "in Arkansas slaveholding is declared a felony!" "Free Missouri greets her sister Pennsylvania!" These words, these shouts of glorious victory, have rung through the land since the last year opened upon us. How they have thrilled our souls they only can know who have battled, through half a life-time, against a gigantic system of wrong, supported and nourished by the State and the Church.

It was in the month of March, 1864, that Arkansas adopted, by an immense majority, a Constitution forever prohibiting slavery. Of the 17,000 votes cast in that election, only two hundred were in the negative. And within the last three months, the holding or selling slaves in that State has been judicially declared to be "a crime amounting to a felony."

In that portion of the old State of Virginia now in the possession of the forces of the United States, and under a loyal State government, a Convention was also held in March, for the purpose of remodelling the Constitution of the State, which, on the 10th day of that month, decided, with only one dissenting vote, to adopt the following provisions:

"*First*, Slavery and involuntary servitude, except for crime, is hereby abolished and prohibited in this State forever.

"*Second*, Courts of competent jurisdiction may apprentice minors of African descent, on like conditions provided by law for apprenticing white children.

"*Third*, The General Assembly shall make no law establishing or recognizing property in human beings."

On the 5th of September the new Constitution of Louisiana was adopted; which declares that "Slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, are hereby forever abolished and prohibited throughout the State. The Legislature shall make no law recognizing the right of property in man." The old Constitution of Louisiana restricted the power of voting to "*white male* citizens"; the new one declares that "the Legislature shall have power to pass laws extending suffrage to such persons, citizens of the United States, as by military service, by taxation to support the government, or by intellectual fitness, may be deemed entitled thereto."

Quick following these glad tidings came the herald of Maryland's redemption, calling us to share in the joy and thanksgiving of fifty thousand slaves made freemen, by the voluntary act of the people of that State, on the first day of November. How heartily Philadelphia responded to that call, let her daily journals, on the morning, and her celebration on the evening, of that memorable day testify. We strove to express our grateful joy in the formula of resolutions, congratulating our sister State upon her redemption from the curse which had so long oppressed her; but we felt how far transcending all description was the grandeur of the event; how much more intense than any words the emotion it inspired. No more shall the accursed system be a wall of partition between the States which God has joined together; no more shall Maryland's returning slaves, recaptured on our soil, shake off the dust of their feet against us, as they cross, in anguish, our southern border, testifying to the injustice and cruelty of Pennsylvania; but, henceforward, both repentant Commonwealths shall strive together to make atonement for the past.

While our hearts were still throbbing with this new emotion, a voice from the far West called aloud, "Bless me also!" and Free Missouri stretched her hand across the mountains, and grasped the hand of Pennsylvania in fraternal embrace. This offering to Freedom made memorable the opening year, for it was on the eleventh day of January, 1865, that the people of the State of Missouri, in Convention assembled, by a vote of sixty against four, ordained that thereafter slavery should cease to exist in that State, and that "all persons held to service or labor as slaves are hereby declared free."

Tennessee has avowed her purpose to consecrate anew the 22d of February, by sealing the doom of the accursed system on her soil; and West Virginia, whose Constitution limited its existence to twelve years, has, within the last few days, through her Legislature, abolished it forever.

Even the glory of all these triumphs of Liberty is eclipsed by one far greater. Henceforward the most sacred day in American history, whose anniversary shall be the Sabbath of our year, will be the 31st of January, 1865. On that day it was decreed by the Congress of the United States, "That the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the said Constitution, viz.:

"*Article 13th, Section 1st.* Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"*Section 2d.* Congress shall have power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation."

This Amendment, adopted by the Senate, on the 8th of April, 1864, by a vote of thirty-eight ayes and six nays, was finally approved by the House of Representatives on the 31st ult., by a vote of 119 ayes and 56 nays.

The wild applause which followed the announcement of the vote, the shouts of members on the floor, mingling with the cheers of men and women in the galleries, was the acclaim of a Nation ringing through its Capitol. We wait the voice of the State Legislatures, through whom the people will once more speak, pronouncing, as we confidently believe, the *final* doom of American Slavery. And as we wait, our souls are thrilling with the tumultuous meeting of the memories of thirty years and the great facts of the present hour. We look back to the beginnings of our enterprise, so weak in the outward appearance, so strong in the might of indwelling Truth and Righteousness. We live again through its days of darkness and storm; we clasp again the hand which rescued us when struggling with the waves; we hear again the voice which, in the darkest hour, whispered, "Lo! I am with you always, even unto the end."

Although this one great victory includes our lesser triumphs, these are worthy of record, as indicating the steps of our National progress during the year.

The closing days of the first session of the Thirty-eighth Congress will be memorable by the repeal of all the statutes providing for the recovery of fugitive slaves; by the prohibition of the Domestic Slave Trade; and by their decree that henceforth there shall be no exclusion of witnesses, on account of color, in the Courts of the United States. With these enactments of righteousness we have, also, to record the recent passage, by the Senate, of the resolution giving freedom to the wives and children of colored soldiers. The names of those Senators,* by whose persistent efforts these triumphs of freedom were won in Congress, and whose fidelity to the cause of Human Liberty, through long and weary years when the name of Abolitionist was odious in the land, have proved the strength of their devotion to the Right, will be remembered with honor and gratitude by the generations who are to enjoy the peace won through such struggles and such triumphs.

To present a full record of the progress which the Anti-Slavery cause has made during the last year, would be to write the history of a Nation in its political, social and religious life. That renovating process, working steadily in the Nation's heart, reveals itself everywhere around us. We hear it in the new inspiration which the pulpit has caught; we read it in the strange and welcome utterance of the press; we feel it in the atmosphere which pervades every social circle and every public assembly. Since our last anniversary, the dying hand of Slavery has loosed its grasp of the judicial sceptre of the Nation; and the Angel of Liberty holds and guards it now. Beneath that sceptre a black man stands an accredited lawyer in the Supreme Court of the United States.

In our last Annual Report we recorded the fact that we had memorialized the Legislature of our own State against the adoption of a measure, proposed in that body to prevent the immigration of colored persons into the State. He would be a bold man who would now dare to propose such a measure in the Legislature of Pennsylvania. The citizenship of the black man is asserting itself; and his rights are demanding the respect so long denied them. Our National government has wisely ceased to aid schemes for colonizing a useful class of its own citizens; and has justly determined that the protection of its passports shall extend over the colored man, equally with the white. The events which have startled and gladdened our souls during the past year, when contrasted with the condition of this nation four years ago, exceed the enthusiast's wildest dream of progress. Looking down the vista of those four years, what eye could have seen the jubilant celebrations of the First of August, in the city of Washington and on the soil of South Carolina? What ear could have heard the voice of a Vice-President elect of the United States saying to the assembled slaves of Nashville, "With the past history of the State to witness, the present condition to guide, and its future to encourage me, I do hereby proclaim freedom, full, broad, and unconditional, to every man in Tennessee." What ear, listening ever so intently, could have caught the strange sound of the voices of slaves suddenly made free,—of an outcast race which had suddenly found a home, as they burst into rapturous song:

"*My* country! 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of Liberty,
Of thee I sing."

The care which the Nation, in the midst of its mortal struggle, is bestowing upon its Freedmen, is indicative of moral growth. We hail with joy the recent act of the government which has invested Gen. Saxton with complete control of the affairs of the Freedmen in all the Port Royal Islands, "and thirty miles inland, and all the coast of Georgia and Florida in our possession." The fact that the superintendence and government of these newly emancipated slaves is committed to such men as Gen. Saxton and Reuben Tomlinson, whose fidelity to the interests of the colored race is well proven, is surely some evidence of a National purpose to execute justice, long delayed. And not only through the government, but directly from our citizens, has sympathy and aid been extended liberally to these rescued victims of tyranny. From the North, and East, and West, have these offerings come, not only in large gifts of money, but in the richer gifts of self-sacrificing missionary labor. On many a plantation where, lately, the slave toiled in ignorance and fear, now sit his friends and teachers, who have left their Northern homes to devote themselves to the arduous labor of his intellectual and moral training. Men and women, in the freshness of youth, in the strength of riper age, have given themselves to this work with zeal and alacrity worthy the high mission. Among these are many new friends of the slave, and many who espoused his cause long ago and faithfully adhered to it through its dark days. Some of our fellow-laborers have entered this new field, and are diligently and faithfully performing the duties of Superintendents or Teachers in the South, or filling important posts in Freedmen's Associations in the North.

Corresponding to the moral progress of the State, do we find the progress of the Church. Doors at which enslaved millions long knocked, in vain, are opened to them now; pulpits, long silent, eloquently plead their cause; and ecclesiastical bodies, no longer riven by anti-slavery discussions, admit their claims and demand justice in their behalf. The General Conference of the Methodist Church, which assembled in this city in May last, amended its General Rule on Slavery, so that it should forbid all slaveholding, or "buying or selling slaves, by the members of that Church. This amendment was adopted by one hundred and ninety-eight affirmative, against eight negative votes. Churches of other denominations throughout the North have, also, by their utterances proved that, in the light of our Revolution, they have read their past delinquencies and their present duties.

He who runs may read unerringly the signs of the times, which are now revealed to our wondering eyes. Not only in Philadelphia do regiments of colored soldiers march through the streets, receiving the applause of the citizens, but in the city of New York, where, eight months previously, "the African race (in the language of the New York *Times*) were literally hunted down like wild beasts." The 20th Regiment of United States Colored Troops "marched through the gayest avenues and business thoroughfares," and were "everywhere saluted with waving handkerchiefs, descending flowers, and with the acclamations and plaudits of countless beholders." The chief literary institution of New York, in the person of its president, welcomed them: fashionable ladies of New York presented them "a gorgeous stand of colors"; and in an address signed by their own hands, said to these colored soldiers, "Remember that it is an emblem of love and honor from the daughters of this great Metropolis to her brave champions in the field; and that they will anxiously watch your career, glorying in your heroism, ministering to you when wounded and ill, and honoring your martyrdom with benedictions and tears." Well might the New York journals say that "such developments are infallible tokens of a new epoch."

Not less wonderful was the sight of Frederick Douglass delivering a public lecture in the city of Baltimore—Maryland's escaping slave returning, after years of perilous exile, to proclaim to her citizens the principles of Universal Liberty and Human Brotherhood!

In 1835, George Thompson came to this country to plead the cause of Freedom. From the hour of his arrival to that of his departure, he was followed by insult and persecution. Hotels refused him shelter; the press reviled him; the church denounced him; mobs hunted him from city to city; until, to save his life, he was obliged to depart from our shores. In 1864, he came again; he lands in Boston, and the Governor of Massachusetts hastens to do him honor. The city which sought his life welcomes him with a public ovation. New York and Philadelphia open and fill their largest public edifices to grace his reception. His progress through our Northern States is a series of ovations. Towns and villages, which once drove him from their borders, crowd their halls and churches to listen to his words. Newspapers, which vied with one another in slandering him, are eloquent in his praise. Churches, which anathematized him, speak his name with benedictions. A university of his own church crowns him with her laurel. In the chief city of a Slave State he addresses an applauding audience. He goes to Washington, and the Hall of the House of Representatives opens to receive him, Representatives, Senators, and Members of the Cabinet gather around him; and the President of the United States bids him welcome to the Country and the Capital. Witnessing these things, we realize, as never before, the moral Revolution through which we are passing; for, in the eyes of this Nation, George Thompson represents the American slave.

From these bright pages, in the history of our Nation's new life, we reluctantly turn away: but a faithful chronicle of the year must contain facts which it is painful to contemplate. It has been truly said that "the Nation's record, upon the simple question of paying its negro soldiers, will never be referred to with pride, by any one who is either just or generous." The call of the President for black troops has been responded to with ardent loyalty and heroic sacrifice by freemen and escaping slaves. The peril which these men go to meet is not only that which the brave white soldier confronts: wounds, death on the battle-field, or the fate of a prisoner of war. "Murdered by their captors"; "returned into slavery"; is the record of the fate which they contemplate as possibly theirs, when they enlist in their country's service. Yet they march, unflinching, to the field. It is a little thing to requite such service with money. It surely is not much to recompense, with the pay awarded to the white soldier, the more perilous service of the black one. Standing together for the Nation's defence, their legal *status* equal, they have not yet received equal justice at the hands of the government, even in the matter of pecuniary reward, which is wholly within the control of the government. For the tragedy of Fort Pillow, for the still more terrible fate of some who have fallen into the hands of their enraged masters and captors, what recompense or atonement can be offered? The promise of equal protection with the white soldier has not been kept toward these long-suffering men. Whatever may be said concerning the impracticability, the inexpediency, or the inhumanity of "retaliation," on the part of our government towards the Rebels, one thing is certain, that no discrimination, in that respect, can be justly made between the white and colored soldiers. We regret to record the fact that it has been made, and made in favor of the white man. From Generals in the Army, and Statesmen in the Cabinet, comes the sad confession that the Nation has failed to do justice to her colored soldiers. As a natural consequence of this failure, those soldiers and their officers have been exposed to the insults of their white comrades; insults from which neither their own bravery nor the uniform of the United States was sufficient to protect them. And these are the men who, on many a bloody field, have been foremost in rushing to the post of danger, and the last to leave it. These are the men of whom our generals testify that braver soldiers were never led into battle. When the history of this war shall be fully written, the valor, the heroism, and the unexampled patience, of the black man, will illumine many a page; and in that light will be clearly revealed the tardy justice which the Nation meted out to him.

The injustice towards our colored population, practiced by the citizens, and permitted by the courts, in Philadelphia, which we have been obliged annually to record, still exists. It is with grief and humiliation that we state this fact, so disgraceful to our city, that our colored fellow-citizens are excluded from most of our railway cars. Neither Christianity nor true Democracy has yet sufficiently inspired this community to dissipate the unholy prejudice which manifests itself in this injurious form. Public sentiment enables the Railway Companies and the Courts to defy the legal obligation resting upon all these Companies, as common carriers, to carry passengers without distinction of color. The outrages which have been committed in our cars, during the last year, suggest the need of missionaries of a purer religion than that in which such a community has been educated. A father, carrying his sick child, in haste to reach his home; mothers with their infants in their arms; weary-footed men and women returning from the business and labors of the day, in the heat of Summer, and the storms of Winter, have been refused admission to the cars, or compelled to stand on the platforms, and have, also, in some instances, been violently ejected from them.

During the last year, unusual efforts have been made in defence of the rights thus resisted, and not wholly without success. A few individuals adopted the plan of visiting the meetings of the Presidents and the Directors of the Railway Companies, and urging upon them the claims of our colored population to the use of their cars. They were received and listened to with respect; and they pursued this labor with untiring assiduity. Many other persons made their protests in the cars; never losing an opportunity of defending the rights of an insulted colored citizen to the use of a public conveyance. Some resorted to prosecutions before the courts, which, we regret to say, were rarely sustained by those who should have been the ministers of justice.

The Statistical Association of the Colored People of Pennsylvania addressed a circular to the Board of Presidents of the City Passenger Railroads, remonstrating against this injustice, and asking for redress. Our own Society, also, in November last, issued an Appeal to the Directors of these Companies, a copy of which was sent to each President, with a request that it should be presented to the Board of Directors. From one of these a reply was received, promising attention to the subject; and repeated verbal assurances were given by another that his influence, relative to the question, was always given in favor of the equal rights of the citizens to use the cars, irrespective of class or complexion.

The subject has been kept before the public by our newspapers, both editorially and by correspondents. Narratives by eye-witnesses, of illegal and inhuman treatment of men and women, by Conductors or passengers, have been published with indignant rebukes, week after week.

That all these measures were, in some degree, efficacious, we have cheering evidence in the fact that on the 10th of January, the stockholders of the Philadelphia and Darby Railroad Company, unanimously decided "that no discrimination ought to be made in the use of the public cars, to the exclusion of any person, except such as is intended to secure good behavior and general comfort"; and requested their Board of Directors to adopt such regulations as should thereafter permit colored persons to ride in their cars. The Directors at once obeyed the wish thus expressed, and opened their cars to all our citizens. About the same time the Manayunk, and Fifth and Sixth street Companies abolished the odious distinction upon their lines; and the Ridge Avenue Company yielded so far as to admit colored passengers into *some* of the cars on their road.

We regret to say that within the last few days the Fifth and Sixth street Company has disgraced itself, and violated its charter, by announcing that after the 10th inst. the order admitting colored persons to their cars shall be rescinded, except on special cars to be appropriated to their use.

On the 13th of January, a public meeting of citizens was held to discuss the subject, and take further measures respecting it. A very large audience assembled; and the speakers represented nearly all classes of our citizens, radical and conservative. The expression of opinion was emphatic and unanimous; and from its direct influence, and the labors of the Committee appointed as its representative, we anticipate new triumphs over this cruel form of prejudice against a large class of our loyal, patriotic citizens.

Our city railway companies, feeling, doubtless, the pressure of public sentiment, have recently resorted to what they call a vote of the people, as a test of this question; and instructed their Conductors to receive the ballots of all persons riding in the cars, on the 30th and 31st days of January, upon the question: "Shall colored persons be allowed to ride in all the cars?" Of these votes, the Conductors were, necessarily, the inspectors and judges. The Directors could not be unaware that the proceeding was a mockery; it is strange that they could suppose that an intelligent community would be misled by so transparent a delusion.

There is another battle to be fought, and another victory to be won, against this spirit of prejudice, before Philadelphia will deserve the name of a Christian city. In our temples of religion the black man is still compelled to kneel apart from his fellow-worshippers, when they bow in prayer to Him who is "no respecter of persons." But there are pulpits here, whose occupants are earnest and faithful in rebuke of this unchristian practice; and we cherish the hope that this bitter fruit of slavery will die with the tree which bore it.

The work of our Society, during the past year, has been, in common with all Anti-Slavery Associations, to exhort and entreat the Nation to cleanse itself thoroughly from its sin of oppression, and leave no stain upon its banner. We have memorialized Congress in behalf of the Constitutional Amendment; and also petitioned that body to "require, as a condition of the return of the revolted States to the Union, the adoption of a Republican form of government, in so far as this: that there shall be no distinction in the conditions of citizenship, or the rights of citizens, based on the existence or non-existence of African blood." A portion of our funds has, as usual, been devoted to the circulation of the NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, and the *Liberator*. We have carefully watched each national event, in its influence upon the slave's interests; joyfully according honor to the government for every deed done for freedom.

The real nature of the struggle in which the Abolitionists have been engaged during the last thirty years is now better understood by the people of the United States than ever before. God's voice, in the thunders of war, has pierced deaf ears. His lightnings have flashed into closed eyes, which would neither hear nor see outraged humanity, in the person of the American slave. At last, the nation is learning that in the rights of the slave their own were represented; and that as his cause was lost or won, humanity was vanquished or victorious. For there has been nothing new in our contest but its form. It is the old battle between Democracy and Aristocracy, waged in every land, "bequeathed from bleeding sire to son," through countless generations. On one side, the rights of Man, *as Man*; on the other, the usurped privileges of tyrants. The shock of the conflict has upheaved kingdoms and overturned thrones; its fury has destroyed nations; and the world has resounded with the shouts of its victors and the cries of its vanquished. In this country, for more than a quarter of a century, its combatants have been the slaveholders and their allies on one side, and on the other the Abolitionists. On one side was the denial of man's inalienable right to freedom; on the other, its absolute assertion. In this struggle we pledged ourselves to the use of moral weapons alone, firmly believing in their power to gain this new conquest in the long warfare. This faith was justified when, in the Autumn of 1860, the regenerated public opinion of the Northern States issued its mandate to the Slave Power—"Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther;" and the South shrieked, in anger and ill-concealed terror, "the government is in the hands of Abolitionists; we will dissolve the Union!" In the year 1853 the Attorney-General of the United States announced: "If there be any purpose more fixed than another in the mind of the President and those with whom he is accustomed to consult, it is that the dangerous element of Abolitionism, under whatever guise or form it may present itself, shall be crushed out, so far as his Administration is concerned." And throughout the length and breadth of the land, the people cried, "Amen! so let it be"; and Church, and State, and mob; pulpit, press, and drawing-room, were eager rivals in the execution of this purpose. In 1864, one of the leading journals of our enemies thus testifies to the result of the struggle: "Is it not a fact that the Abolitionists command all the power of the North? It is. Is it not a fact that we Democrats are unable to wrench that power out of their hands? It is. Is it not a fact that the power of the South must, *per force*, give way to the power of the North? It is. And is it not a fact that the Abolitionists are determined to carry out their principle, as first conceived by themselves, and as now enforced on the entire country by the resolve of the rebels to subdue the North? It is. It is, therefore, a fact, that slavery is doomed. We, the Democracy, do not like this; but our dislike can effect nothing. There are facts before us, and, *nolens volens*, we must accept them. *The Abolitionists have won the game.*"

In this result we see only the triumph of principles—of Truth over Falsehood, of Right over Wrong; a victory which will be universal, because "the earth is the Lord's," and He is "the Governor among the Nations." "His right hand, and His holy arm, hath gotten Him this victory."

Bright shines the Star of Hope on our new year. *All* is not yet won for Freedom; but each day, dawning with new victories, foretells the swiftly-approaching hour when American slavery shall give up the ghost. Illinois, Maryland, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York, Michigan, Missouri, Maine, Ohio, and Virginia, have ratified its doom.*

All honor to Maryland, who so recently washed her robes and received her consecration at the altar of liberty! Her eager hand was the first to seize the pen to sign this death-warrant, though while, with unwonted fingers, she slowly traced the letters, Illinois followed quickly, and first completed her signature. With hope and faith, and joy and gratitude, we wait for the last.

Quickly upon the footsteps of emancipation have followed the "fruits of righteousness" promised to those who execute justice towards the oppressed. In Louisiana, a common school system, that great educator of a Free People, is established; in Missouri this blessing is extended to a class of its children hitherto denied it; and a steady stream of immigration is pouring into Maryland, to enrich her population, and "build her old waste places."

The danger to the Nation which is now to be feared and avoided lies in the path of reconstruction. The madness of the Slave Power, which sought the overthrow of the government, and which accomplished the secession of ten States from the Union, has armed the Nation with weapons for the defence and maintenance of Liberty, which it has not before possessed since the adoption of our Federal Constitution. These ten States are asking, or will soon be asking, readmission to our Union; and the voice of the people, through the Congress of the United States, will prescribe the conditions of their return. Once before in the history of this Nation, its Representatives assembled solemnly to deliberate and decide upon conditions of Union, and to seal the destinies of coming generations. Sitting in judgment upon slavery, holding its doom in their hands, they did not execute its death-sentence; but, for the sake of peace, of conciliation, of UNION, they gave it what they regarded as a short lease of life. The terrible consequences of their fatal mistake have culminated in the tragedy of our civil war. To-day, the Providence of God gives the Nation another opportunity to decide this momentous question, and to retrieve, partially, the mistakes of the past. With the lessons of eighty years to warn and guide them, with the consciousness that the extraordinary power which resides in the Federal government to-day will soon pass from it, perhaps never to return, will they repeat the error of the fathers, and fail to establish universal liberty, and hedge it about with every possible defence? If they have read those lessons; if they are not deaf to the voice of God in his warnings, and insensible to the mercy which gives them this opportunity of salvation, they will require of every revolted State which would return to this Union a form of State government which shall secure, by his own right of suffrage, the liberty of the black man. Only with this weapon in his hand can he be safely left in a community of proud, defeated tyrants, so recently his masters. Now the United States can protect him with its military power. The moment that those revolted States are admitted into the Union, he must pass under the control of their governments, and the shield of Federal authority can no longer come between him and the cruel oppression which, in countless forms, they may inflict, without reducing him to chattel slavery. In enfranchising a race, in restoring the liberty it has so long wickedly withheld, the Nation is surely under the highest obligation to restore with it that safeguard of freedom which it regards as so necessary to the protection of its white citizens. In its hour of repentance and restitution, a noble and generous People would hasten to offer every atonement in its power, and would mourn over the impossibility of full reparation.

We rejoice to believe that in both Houses of Congress there are men who will urge the Nation to the full measure of its duty in this respect; and we record, with pleasure, the fact that the necessity of protecting the enfranchised slave with the suffrage has been ably and eloquently defended by a Representative of our own State and city.†

We rejoice, too, that among the daily journals of our city there are staunch champions for Freedom, and the rights of man, irrespective of color. Of these, the *Press*, the *North American*, and the *Evening Bulletin*, deserve honorable notice.

The duty which yet remains for the Abolitionists to perform is to stand at their posts a little longer, watching with jealous care the interests of the slave, until his last fetter shall be broken, and the constitutional prohibition of slavery shall become the law of the land. It was this jealousy for his interests, this fidelity to his cause, which created a diversity of opinion and sentiment among us relative to the last Presidential election. Those who feared to entrust the protection of the slave's rights to the care of Abraham Lincoln and his Cabinet withheld from him their support; and those who believed that the interests of Freedom would be safe under his administration advocated his reëlection.

Our work is almost done. As we look into each other's faces to-day, our hearts involuntarily exclaim: "The Lord is risen indeed!" Fit greeting for this glad anniversary! Some whom we miss from our ranks are, doubtless, mingling in our joy. Two valiant champions of Freedom,‡ whose names will occupy an honorable place in our Congressional annals, for their fidelity to the Anti Slavery cause in its martyr-age, have, during the past year, finished their earthly labors and gone to their reward. And he whose name shines brightly on a more glorious page of History,* first in the roll of signatures to the Declaration of Anti-Slavery Sentiments, proclaimed in this city in 1833, has filled up the measure of his well-spent days, and bowed his hoary head in death, just as the trumpet-blast of victory burst upon his ear.

From these seats to-day, we miss familiar faces of fellow-laborers, who, on our last anniversary, greeted with us, the bright promise of the opening year. The most venerable of our band,† whose heart beat warm and true towards the oppressed, has passed away. And one who was not a less faithful and earnest coadjutor of ours, because her name is not enrolled in our Association,‡ has left us, in the prime of life, to mourn her departure and cherish her memory.

And many, many, more the year has borne from us, of illustrious or unknown names, who, in camp, or field, or hospital, have given their lives to the cause of Human Liberty, content to die that the Nation might truly live.

These, our fellow-laborers, who have received their discharge before us, wait in heaven as we on earth, with ear attent, to catch the first tones of our new, unflawed Liberty Bell (sweetest music that ever went up to God from America), which shall

"Ring out the darkness of the Land;
Ring in the Christ that is to be."

* Hon. Henry Wilson and Hon. Charles Sumner.

* Since the presentation of this Report, Indiana has ratified the Amendment.
† Hon. Wm. D. Kelley.
‡ Joshua R. Giddings and Owen Lovejoy.

* Thomas Whitson.
† Sarah Jackson.
‡ Elizabeth Newbold.

BLACK SUFFRAGE IN MISSOURI.—We are pained to observe that the proposition to strike out the word "white" in the qualifications requisite to become members of the Missouri Legislature has been defeated in the Constitutional Convention of that State by a vote of twenty yeas to twenty eight nays. A proposition to permit colored persons to vote and hold office was also lost by twelve yeas to thirty-two nays. We had hoped that Missouri, by doing full justice to the negro, would put some of her older sisters to shame; but we are disappointed. The struggle, however, for Black Suffrage will not end here, but continue until it is crowned with success. The Abolitionists, after the complete extinction of slavery, will of course disband their *Anti-Slavery* Societies; but as individuals they will be ready to enter into new associations with other friends of equal rights for the purpose of making "all men equal before the law."

In the Missouri Senate, on the 15th inst, the bill repealing the pro-slavery statutes (Black laws) of the State was passed by twenty-three yeas to three nays.

JOHN MERCER LANGSTON of Ohio, an able and devoted laborer for his race, and an eloquent speaker, who has raised thousands of soldiers for the Union army from amongst the colored people, and who recently spoke with great success in the legislative halls of Tennessee, will lecture in aid of sick and wounded colored soldiers, under the auspices of the Union Bazaar, next Tuesday evening, at Cooper Institute. His subject will be "The War, our National Emancipation."

FAMILIES OF BLACK SOLDIERS.—Senator Wilson's Joint Resolution, freeing the families of negro soldiers, passed the House on Wednesday, and only needs the President's signature (which it will of course receive) to be made a law. It will, it is estimated, give freedom to some 40,000 or 50,000 women and children, most of whom are in Kentucky.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

WE have glorious news this week. Sherman is marching unopposed through the very heart of South Carolina. Columbia, the capital of the State, after being evacuated by the rebel forces under Beauregard, was occupied by Sherman on the 17th. This was promptly followed by the evacuation of Charleston, and that place fell into possession of the Union forces on the 18th, with over two hundred pieces of artillery (another account says that all the guns were spiked), and a supply of ammunition. The surrounding defences having been evacuated during the previous night by the rebel forces, the Mayor surrendered the city to the troops of Gen. Schimelfening, who at once took possession. The cotton warehouses, arsenal, Quartermaster's stores, railroad bridges, two iron-clads and several vessels in the ship-yard, were burned by the enemy. The railroad building contained 200 kegs of powder, which exploded with terrific effect, killing and wounding upwards of one hundred people. It is supposed that 6,000 bales of cotton were consumed in the warehouses. The dwelling-houses in the lower part of the city were found to be completely riddled by our shot and shell. The wealthy part of the population had deserted the city, the poor who remained were suffering for want of food. The identical flag which waved over Fort Sumter when it was assailed by the rebels in the Spring of 1861, waves over it now!

Sherman is now moving North with his victorious columns. He is probably by this time in North Carolina, and ere long we hope to hear of his arrival at Raleigh. The rebels are trying to concentrate their scattered forces to resist him, but it is generally thought that they will not succeed. A coöperative Union force is also preparing to move from Newbern.

Wilmington is probably in possession of the Union forces before now. Fort Anderson was occupied on Saturday, and the army and navy were advancing upon the city, which was in all probability evacuated.

Says the Washington correspondent of the *Times*: "The fears of some timorous persons that Lee will be able to precipitate himself on Sherman, and, united with Beauregard, be able to check the advance of that General, are not shared by either the government or sensible men here. These persons seem to forget that Grant and his army will have something to say on that issue. Lee is closely observed by Grant at every point, and the first intimation he gives of an intention to withdraw from Richmond will be the signal for a tiger spring by Grant. Gen. Grant is perfectly cognizant of every move on the part of his adversary by the deserters from Lee's lines, who arrive at the rate of a hundred per day."

Special Notices.

THE PICTORIAL PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL for JANUARY has 32 quarto pages, and a beautiful illustrated Cover. It contains Portraits of Tennyson, Silliman, Sheridan, Cobb, Phillips, Susanna Wesley—mother of John—an Indian Chief, Franz Muller, Miss Muggins, Miss Fury, the Princess of Wales, Florence Nightingale, A Group of Warriors—Hannibal, Julius Cæsar, Pizarro, Cromwell, Charles XII., Frederick the Great, Scott, Wellington and Napoleon.

THE FEBRUARY No. contains the Great Surgeons of the World—Harvey, Abernethy, Jenner, Hunter, Cooper, Mott, and Carnochan. Also W. S. Landor, Mrs. Farnham, Mr. Clark; Mr. Kilbourn; Mr. Morrill, etc. Prof. Owen on the Brain; The Human Face, Preëxistence; with Ethnology, Phrenology, Physiology, Physiognomy, and Psychology.

THE MARCH No. has GOV. FENTON of N. Y.; EDWARD EVERETT, the Orator; ARISTOTLE, the Philosopher; MAJOR DAVIDSON, the Patriot; CHAS. FOURIER, W. H. FRY; The Races of Men; Caucasians, Mongolians, Ethiopians, American Indians, Malays, with Grouped Portraits of each, and a map showing the geographical distribution of the Races; How the Brain changes the Cranium; The Inscrutable; Fore-Seeing, and Seeing at Sea, etc. All Double Numbers, with numerous Illustrations, sent by first post, for 20 cents each, or $2 per year. For sale by all Newsmen. Address Messrs. FOWLER AND WELLS, 389 Broadway, N. Y.

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FAIR FOR THE FREEDMEN.—A FAIR with EVENING ENTERTAINMENTS, will be held at DODWORTH'S HALL, 806 Broadway, under the direction of an ASSOCIATION OF LADIES, commencing on Monday, the 27th of March, prox., and closing on Saturday evening of the same week. The funds that may be raised to be devoted to the founding of an Educational and Industrial Institution for the Orphans of the Freedmen.

☞ All friends of the elevation of the negro race are cordially invited to cooperate in this noble object. Contributions of money or articles suitable for the FAIR can be forwarded by mail or express to

MRS. J. WINCHESTER, Supt,
23 Gramercy Park.

Miss Mary Strongitharm, Sec.

WHEELER AND WILSON'S SEWING MACHINES.—Woman's Greatest Boon.—We would advise a man to forego a thresher and thresh wheat with a flail rather than to see the wife wear her health, vigor and life away in the everlasting "stitch, stitch, stitch," when a sewing machine can be obtained. The Wheeler and Wilson is an invaluable aid in every household. We have had several different kinds on trial, and after six years' service the Wheeler and Wilson has taken the precedence as the best, where all kinds of sewing are to be done in a family.—*American Agriculturist, January*, 1865. 40—tf.

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To substantiate my position, those purchasing these Fire-proofs are at liberty, by giving me due notice of time and place of trial, to test them by fire with any other Safe of the same size; and should they not prove superior, I will refund the money, or a new Fire-proof, as the purchaser may decide.

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Nos	Height	Width	Depth	Height	Width	Depth	Price
6	40	31	27	31	21	15	$150
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4	31	27	25	22	18	13	110
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	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	
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1½	59	50	26	43	39	15	800
2	53	44	27	42½	33	15	600
MERCANTILE F AND B SAFES. Folding Doors and Monitor Locks.							
3	50	42	57	40	32	16	$500
4	46	42	27	36	31	16	450
4½	38	46	27	28	36	16	450
4	42	38	27	31½	27½	15	350
Single Doors and M Locks.							
6	38	35	26	27½	23½	15	$250
7	34	31	26	24	21	14	200
8	31	28	24	21	18	13	175
9	30	24	24	21	15	12	140
10	26	22	22	19½	13½	12	120
11	24	20	18	17	17	10	100

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Side Board	$600
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No.	Height	Width	Depth	Height	Width	Depth	Price
	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	In.	
	68	53	35	55	39	18	$1,200
2	61	53	35	48	39	18	1,050
3	57	47	35	42½	33	18	900
BANK VAULT BURGLAR SAFES, With Folding Doors and D Lock.							
0	68	53	27	64	48	20	$1,800
0½	61	53	27	55	46	20	[illegible]
1	57	47	27	49	40	20	600
BANK VAULT BURGLAR SAFES, Single Doors and D Locks.							
2	53	32	26	49	28	19	$459
3	42	36	22	38	32	18	400
4	36	31	20	32	27	16	350
5	30	24	18	26	20	14	250

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Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

A HEART-TRIBUTE.

TO THE SANITARY COMMISSION.

Bless you! bless you! white lips sob it,
Where the soldier's fading eyes
Try to see the cool hand pressing
His hot temples while he dies.
God bless you! that low moan bore him
To that land where heroes rest.
Kind hands wrapped the red turf o'er him,
Gemmed with rubies from his breast.

Bless you! bless you! sad hearts throb it,
With a fold of sable tied,
Where the dear home loves remember
How the hero darling died.
God bless you! no mother fingers
Pushed the damp hair from his brow;
Yet a touch as gentle fingers
Locked in its white slumber now.

Bless you! bless you! Time shall speak it,
Looking backward on the years
Hallowed by a nation's sorrow,
And ennobled by its tears.
God bless you! that proudest echo
Never raised a worthier tone
On the heart's uplifting surges
To its high Creator's throne.

S. E. Carmichael.

HONORS TO GARRISON IN HIS NATIVE PLACE.

From the Newburyport Herald.

Emancipation was celebrated in this city, on Thursday, by the ringing of the bells. They were probably rung in all the cities and towns of the State, and it is proper that they should be over the whole land. What a change of public sentiment does this indicate? Would the bells of Newburyport have been ringing four years ago, if Congress had taken like action? It must have been a glad day to Garrison, and those who commenced this struggle with him thirty-five years since. Of those original men, three were natives of Old Newbury, Garrison being the only survivor; and John G. Whittier was another of the twelve, living within sight of us. Those who still remain must, on Thursday, have felt something as did old Simeon.

The passage and signature of the act for the amendment of the Constitution—which is the real proclamation of Liberty throughout the land—caused great joy in this city. While the bells were ringing out their merry peals, the flags were run up in all parts of the town, the boys brought out their pistols and burned their fireworks, the people collected in the streets to congratulate each other, the Committee gave the schools a holiday, and all appeared as glad as the occasion demanded. We think it will be further celebrated—probably on the 22d of February, if Mr. Garrison can make it convenient to be the orator at that time. His friends will ask him to speak first after the triumph of his policy, in this his native town. On such an occasion, he would have a story to tell that no other man of the nation could tell. The people with bands of music would greet his advent. Such a day would bring a song from the New England poet, who might grace the platform with his presence; and all would regret that the associates of the orator and the poet—like Moses and Aaron who led the people through the wilderness—had passed on without entering the promised land.

From the same.

The Celebration of the 22d.—Arrangements are being completed for the celebration of the constitutional abolition of slavery, on the 22d inst., the anniversary of the birth of George Washington. The City Hall has been engaged for that evening. William Lloyd Garrison will deliver the oration, and John G. Whittier, the Quaker poet, will write a song for the occasion, and himself be present. We shall be able to announce the entire programme in a few days; and we hope that our citizens will enter heartily into the demonstration. However much people may have differed as to the measures for the abolition of slavery, now that it is a "fixed fact," and as parties, whatever their politics, love not slavery, but hate it as an evil and a sin, all will rejoice in that fact. This consummation is the triumph of the principles and policy first enunciated by Mr. Garrison, and therefore it is to him a personal triumph; and Mr. Garrison being a native of Newburyport, it is meet that this celebration should take place with his fellow-townsmen, who have now come to an agreement with him on the subject. He will return to his own—to the place of his birth, not as a warrior glorying in bloody victory, but as a moral reformer whom Providence has spared to see the fullest realization of the fruits of his labors and the hopes of his life.

From the same.

We have not heard where the Everett monument is to be placed; but there is a man living whose little finger has been more in the revolution now upon us, and in molding the public mind for the coming era, than the whole body of Edward Everett. That man is William Lloyd Garrison, who thirty years ago came to his native town and found every public building closed against him, and was obliged to address his half dozen friends in a garden. When he dies there will be another monument; and then the place where he was born, on School street, next to the house in which George Whitefield died, will be the most valuable piece of property in the city. The memorials of Whitefield and Garrison will stand side by side. Garrison served his apprenticeship in the *Herald* office, and the name that he scratched on a pane of glass still remains. If it should be there a hundred years from this, that old window would rent for more than the room does to-day. So goes the world. Every generation builds the tombs of prophets whom their fathers reviled or murdered.

From the Boston Transcript

Among the Changes which events have produced in men and communities may be mentioned the fact, that William Lloyd Garrison has received and accepted an invitation to deliver an address in Newburyport, on the 22d inst., Washington's Birthday. It was in that city Mr. Garrison was born, and learned his trade as a printer. It was there he conducted a paper, advocating the election of Harrison Gray Otis as Governor of Massachusetts. It was at the same place he determined to devote himself to the cause of abolition, and adopted his uncompromising resolution in regard to slavery. It was owing, we believe, to his mortification that a ship from his native town was chartered for the inland slave trade, that he wrote the article that led to his incarceration in a Baltimore prison; one of the consequences of which was the inspiration of his noble sonnet, "The Free Mind."

Mr. Garrison may at times have felt the truth of the saying, that the prophet is not without honor, save in his own country. If so, he has lived to see its application to himself become obsolete, to find his life-work approaching a triumphant close, and to be able, an honored guest, to revisit "home," and

"In sweet converse pass the joyous hours."

FREDERICK DOUGLASS IN SALEM.

From the Salem (Mass.) Register, Jan. 30.

Mechanic Hall presented a most remarkable spectacle on Wednesday evening, when Frederick Douglass, formerly a slave, lectured before the Salem Lyceum, and pleaded, with a power, ability, and impressiveness, that would have conferred credit on the most finished orator, for the complete enfranchisement of the colored race. For two hours the large audience listened to him with the closest attention, interrupted only by frequent applause, and none cared to gainsay the strength of his arguments, the felicitousness of his wit and humor, or the grace of his oratory. We do not propose to give an abstract of his address, which, although logical, eloquent, and convincing, was impromptu, the speaker having come expecting to deliver a written lecture, and making no preparation for a speech until after his arrival in the city, when he was requested to change his programme. As we have said, the spectacle was remarkable, even for these remarkable times, because there were hundreds present that could remember when the orator who so moved them was a mere chattel, liable to be scourged with the lash, to be tortured with the iron collar, to be bought and sold in the slave market, with no rights that the slavemonger felt bound to respect. And yet, there he stood in bodily presence, pleading with "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," for simple justice to his race.

It was in November, 1842, that Mr. Douglass first spoke in Salem, in Mechanic Hall, at the time of the great excitement caused by the arrest of George Latimer in Boston as a fugitive slave. Latimer himself was present at the meeting, and Tracy, Remond, and others were the speakers. The impression that Douglass made then, when only four years out of bondage, was described as follows, in the *Register*, at the time:

"The most wonderful performance of the evening was the address of Frederick Douglass, himself a slave only four years ago! His remarks and his manner created the most indescribable sensations in the minds of those unaccustomed to hear *freemen* of his color speak in public, much more to regard a *slave* as capable of such an effort. He was a living, speaking, *startling* proof of the folly, absurdity and inconsistency (to say nothing worse) of slavery. Fluent, graceful, eloquent, shrewd, sarcastic, he was, without making any allowances, a fine specimen of an orator. He seemed to move the audience at his will, and they at times would hang upon his lips, with staring eyes and open mouths, as eager to catch every word, as any 'sea of upturned faces' that ever rolled at the feet of Everett or Webster to revel in their classic eloquence. Douglass possesses great power of humor, which he indulged freely on Monday evening, in giving some of the neatest and severest home thrusts at the 'peculiar institution' of which he professed to be a *graduate*, which it was ever our fortune to hear. Douglass is certainly a wonder."

Last Wednesday evening the audience had an opportunity of listening to Douglass in his maturer years, and all will admit that the promise of his youthful efforts was fully realized.

WOMEN VOTING IN AUSTRALIA.

London Correspondence of the Commonwealth.

Now let me turn to another chapter in the question of voting. In the Australian colonies they have adopted a system of permitting women to vote in *municipal* elections. The other day the colony of Victoria did, by a blunder, prescribe the laws of municipal voting for the larger and more important election of a Parliament. On election-day they were surprised by finding the entire female population voting. As I may be suspected of coloring the matter and its results to suit my very strong faith in female suffrage and equal participation with men in public affairs, I will take the opinion that the *Times* is forced to give on the sifted facts which have been within the last two days only reported in England. After alluding to the fact that this is the first time that women have exercised the franchise in any community, the *Times* says:

"The women seem to have availed themselves in considerable numbers of the privilege thus obtained. . . It is recorded that the women voted at least as wisely as the men; that they generally voted for the best educated candidate; that they showed contempt for the secrecy of the ballot; and that, espousing the cause which they took up with a heartiness and devotion incidental to the female character, they generally gave plumpers for the candidate of their choice. In a franchise so low as that enjoyed by the Australian colonies we can easily believe that this new element, especially as the female votes were given in respect of property, would be a marked improvement. It will be very curious to see whether this innovation, thus accidentally introduced, is allowed to continue, or whether the colonists will persevere in the course upon which they have stumbled. In the latter case it would seem hardly to be possible to leave matters as they are, or to prevent the infusion of a much larger female element into the constituency."

So far the *Times*. My own belief is, that if America had been true to all the ideals of the best men, and when making a nation of sovereigns, where the Old World had held up *one* as a symbol, had also made a nation of queens, she would to-day be afflicted by neither slavery nor civil war. Why is it that the world is in its governments one hundred years behind what it is in its homes? War has long since disappeared from private (civilized) society—*i. e*, feudal battles and duels. Because whilst in homes, and in all other social organizations, woman is regarded; in government, she is, to use Stuart Mill's phrase, "non-existent." As long as this is so, government will be the great refuge of all the barbarism of society. Even in the South those very women who hate the Yankees so venomously were never considered trustworthy on slavery matters. The regular instructions of the large slave-dealers to their travelling agents (*I have read them*) are, that no bargain with a gentleman for a slave or slaves should ever be *attempted at his residence*. The agent must stay at the barn, or elsewhere, and send for him. This is, of course, to avoid being seen by the women of the family. Every one knows how odious the slave-dealer is in the South; the women have made him so, in defiance, I admit, of logic, for he is essential to the system.

LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT.

Last Summer, after the public exhibition in this city of Mr. W. T. Carlton's very meritorious painting, entitled "Watch Meeting, Dec. 31, 1862—or, Waiting for the Hour"—the Hour of Emancipation under the President's Proclamation of January 1, 1863—it was deemed eminently fitting that it should be purchased by subscription, and presented to President Lincoln as a mark of personal respect, and warm appreciation of his act, whereby more than three millions of fetters were broken, and a death-dealing blow was virtually given to the entire system of chattel slavery. The list of subscribers was headed by Gov. Andrew, and composed of some of our most respected citizens—the sum raised amounting to $500. The painting was duly forwarded to Washington, accompanied by an explanatory and congratulatory letter to the President; but, though the safe arrival of it at the White House was ascertained, its receipt has remained unacknowledged till now. The reason for this is satisfactorily given in the following ingenuous and appreciative letter just received by us from Mr. Lincoln:

Executive Mansion,
Washington, 7th February, 1865.

My Dear Mr. Garrison: I have your kind letter of the 21st of January, and can only beg that you will pardon the seeming neglect occasioned by my constant engagements. When I received the spirited and admirable painting, "Waiting for the Hour," I directed my Secretary not to acknowledge its arrival at once, preferring to make my personal acknowledgment of the thoughtful kindness of the donors; and waiting for some leisure hour, I have committed the discourtesy of not replying at all.

I hope you will believe that my thanks, though late, are most cordial, and I request that you will convey them to those associated with you in this flattering and generous gift. I am, very truly, your friend and servant,

Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Esq. A. Lincoln.

In the nature of the case, the President must be constantly overwhelmed with the multifarious duties of his office, aside from all presentations of this kind; and the marvel is that he has not long since been utterly broken down by the pressure. Nevertheless, may his days be long in the land!—*Liberator.*

How a Good Opinion of Mr. Lincoln was Formed.—While a number of gentlemen were discussing the merits and demerits of Mr. Lincoln—principally the latter, however—at a dinner table the other day, one of them spoke about as follows, in reply to some pretty severe reflections on His Excellency: "Gentlemen, you may talk as you please about old Abe's capacity; I don't believe him to be the ablest statesman in America by any means, and I voted against him on both occasions of his candidacy. But I happened to see, or, rather, to hear, something the other day, that convinced me that, however deficient the old man may be in the head, he is all right in the heart. I was up at the White House, having called to see the President on business. I was shown into the office of his private secretary, and told that Mr. Lincoln was busy just then, but would be disengaged in a short time. While I was waiting I heard a very earnest prayer being uttered in a loud female voice, in the room that adjoined that in which I was. I inquired what it meant, and I was told that an old Quaker lady, a friend of the President's, had called that afternoon and taken tea at the White House, and that she was then praying with Mr. Lincoln. After the lapse of a few minutes the prayer ceased, and Mr. Lincoln, accompanied by a Quakeress not less than eighty years old, entered the room I was sitting in. I made up my mind then that Mr. Lincoln was not a bad man, and I don't think it will be easy to efface the impression that the scene I witnessed, and the voice I heard, made on my mind. If a good artist had been in my place, I think he could have found the material for a painting that would have immortalized him, that of Mr. Lincoln and the old Quakeress kneeling together in prayer."

FREE AMERICA.

A shout of joy is ringing through the land,
And men long bowed and broken rise and stand,
As if uplifted by God's bared right hand—
Our country shall be free!

The great decree enfolds the final deed;
No doubtful future closes round our need;
The blessed fruit hangs ripe within the seed—
Our country *now* is free!

Our mighty sacrifice has wafted sweet
Prevailing incense to God's judgment-seat;
Our martyrs sitting by the angels' feet
Know their earth-home is free.

God said, "Let Freedom be," as erst "Let Light,"
And burst a new creation on our sight,
Created in our hearts, and named aright
America the Free!

By this we pass from pain to realms of balm,
Striking our lessening tumult through with calm,
Harmonious, holy, happy, with the psalm—
Our native land is free.

O'er life's warm heights within the luminous sky,
Through death's cold vales where endless shadows lie,
Ring forth the psalm to all who live and die—
Our land—our land is free!

Almighty God! we swear by Thy high throne,
Though pain, blood, peril in our path be sown,
This glorious land we now may call our own
Shall be forever free!

—*Harper's Weekly.*

John Bright on the Right of Suffrage.—I speak out of no hostility to any class, or to any institution, but I say that the man who proposes to exclude permanently five millions of his fellow-countrymen from the right which the Constitution of this country makes sacred in his eyes, I say that is the man who separates England into two nations, and makes it impossible we should be wholly and permanently a contented people [loud cheers]. I demand this, then—which is but the right of the Constitution—that the House of Commons shall be made fully and fairly to represent the Commons and the people of the United Kingdom. England has long been famous for the enjoyment of personal freedom by her people; they are free to think, they are free to speak, they are free to write; and England has been famed of late years, and is famed now the world over, for the freedom of her industry and the greatness and the freedom of her commerce. I want to know why it is that our people should not be free [cheers].

Who is there that will meet me on this platform, or will stand on any platform, and will dare to say to an open meeting of his fellow-countrymen, that this million for whom I am now pleading are too ignorant, or vicious, or destructive, to be entrusted with the elective franchise? I, at least, will never thus slander my countrymen. I claim for them the right of admission through their representatives into the most ancient and venerable parliament which at this hour exists amongst men; and when they are thus admitted, and not till then, it may be truly said that England, the august mother of free nations, herself is free.—*Speech to his Constituents.*

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

CURLY-HEAD'S CROWN.

"I would I'd lived in ancient days,
When Christians won the martyr's praise,
And soldiers earned the hero's bays.

"Not chains, nor racks, nor burning stake,
Nor wheels that tear the bones, or break,
Could my spirit one instant shake.

"I would I'd lived in ancient days,
Ere the Savior's gentle ways
Had wholly won the heathen's praise.

"So might a martyr's crown be mine,
And so to-day my name might shine
On the white scroll that angels twine.

"A blessed martyr's name!" he said,
For all that evening I had read,
Aloud, tales of the martyred dead.

"If e'er again such days can be,
God grant their trials I may see!"
He said, leaning against my knee.

My hands held his curly head,
My eyes half-filled with tears unshed,
Yet smiling as his cheeks grew red.

"Dear little head," I said, and smiled,
"Be it by no such dreams beguiled;
We live in Christian days, my child.

"The Heathen rule has lost its might,
The Heathen throne is hid in night,
And reigns alone the Gospel's light.

"They all are gone, those tyrant kings,
And hatred to their mem'ry clings,
As to all base, ignoble things.

"Since then the truths they tried to kill
Have lived and spread through good and ill,
For Truth bends not to tyrant's will,

"Dear Curly-Head," I said, and held
Him closer to my knee, still spelled,
As if his eyes some stake beheld;

"Dear Curly-Head can win no crown
But of a good and pure renown,
Though tyrant Fate may smile or frown.

"Dear little hands God's work must do,
Dear little feet can still walk true,
Though no harsh nails may pierce them through;

"For we live in a Christian age,
Christ speaks to simple and to sage,
And baffled is the Devil's rage."

I err'd. Years passed, the Devil's rage
Is as great as in Nero's age,
And still can blot dark Hist'ry's page.

The God of Nations bent and gave
A Trust to men, to guard and save,
Just as he gave the Christians brave.

If less the task, not less the trust;
Whate'er God gives, that must be first,
Though Hell should gape, or thunders burst.

Then the fiends that by Nero's throne
Of old had stood, now stronger grown
By baffled will and rule o'erthrown,

Now rose and cried, with wicked glee:
"A broken trust we yet shall see,
On earth must still some traitors be.

"On broken faith we build our throne,
A fort, a castle all our own,
Slavery for its corner stone."

"Dear Curly-Head," I said with tears,
It scarce had changed in all those years,
"Yield not your faith for any fears.

"Stand firm as martyr to the stake,
And your God-given trust still take,
Though heart and limbs together break."

Dear Child! he answered so proud, yet calm:
"Fear not! My soul they cannot harm,
I go to win my martyr's palm."

I cannot tell how angels wept
As they their silent watches kept,
If e'er, perchance, some captive slept.

I cannot tell how martyrs knelt
And prayed the captor's heart might melt,
For sure all heaven this outrage felt.

I cannot tell what tempting bait
Was held to lips that rarely ate,
If they would their faith abate.

I cannot tell what luring wile
Of food, or gold, or new health's smile
Was tried, those true hearts to beguile.

I only know that when, at last,
The soul from the poor body past,
It held its trust still firm and fast.

And Curly-Head has won his crown,
And olden tyrants' fame goes down
Before his captor's base renown.

And henceforth, if it be man's will,
With all execration to fill
One word—be that *Andersonville.*

Sarah M. Brownson.

HONESTY AND TRUST.

The following pleasant anecdote is from "Glances and Glimpses," by Dr. Harriot K. Hunt, who was once a teacher in Boston:

A cousin of mine in Charlestown having passed away, it became proper that I should attend her funeral. It was school afternoon; I did not dismiss the scholars; and, as they disliked a monitor, I hit upon the following plan of leaving them: I placed in the chair the large, old-fashioned slate (it had been my father's); wrote upon it the names of the scholars in the order in which they sat, and arranged the needle work and reading—for I always had some interesting work read aloud every afternoon by some elder pupil—and then said: "Now, children, when the clock strikes five, leave your seats orderly, go to my chair, and place by each of your names a unit for good behavior and a cross for bad. When I return I shall anxiously look at the slate, and in the morning, when you are all assembled, I will read the list aloud, that everything may be confirmed. But I trust you."

On my return I visited the school-room, and found but one cross upon the slate; and that, where I least expected it, appended to the name of a beautiful, open, bright, brave child, who then promised much to the world—the fact of having rich parents being her greatest drawback. She was the last child in school that I should have thought capable of any misconduct. The morning came; the list was read; it proved truthful; but when I came to this name, I said:

"My dear child, you must explain. Why is this? What did you do?"

Looking up to me with those soulful eyes, and speaking with a soulful tone, which ever made her an object of sacred interest, she replied:

"I laughed aloud—I laughed more than once—I couldn't help it—because *the slate was keeping school!*"

A Lady Preaching in Paris.—The Paris correspondent of the *Methodist* writes, under date Jan. 18: "I mentioned in a former letter the efforts of the Rev. Mr. Gibson to diffuse religious instruction among a large class of English who reside in Paris, and who seldom or never attend public worship. These missionary essays are seconded by several English ladies, who devote their whole lives to the work of seeking out the ignorant, debased, and abandoned, and leading them into a better course of life. Meetings are held in various private houses, and last week an unusual interest was given to them by the presence of a young woman who preached and exhorted with a power which is said not to be inferior to that of Spurgeon himself. This lady is a Mrs Thistlethwaite, the wife of a gentleman of princely fortune. She has during several years been preaching to the poor in various parts of England and Scotland, and has frequently addressed congregations of more than two thousand people. Mrs. Thistlethwaite's appearance is very impressive; tall, finely formed, and with a face lit up with intelligence and earnestness, she wins the attention of her audience as soon as she rises to speak to them. The tone of her voice is most agreeable, and her command of language is remarkable. She speaks extemporaneously, using a great deal of gesture, but always graceful and expressive. In Paris the prejudice against a woman's appearing in the pulpit is so great that Mrs. T. spoke only to private audiences; on one occasion her discourse was translated into French by the Rev. Mr. Pulsford, of the French Methodist Church, who expresses himself much impressed with her extraordinary vigor of style and eloquence. One of the lady's principal objects in coming to Paris was to preach to the English stable-boys, of whom there are a great number gathered here, and who are as much in need of missionary teaching as the heathen in less civilized regions."

Advertisements.

DR. TALBOT'S CONCENTRATED MEDICAL
PINEAPPLE CIDER
IS A PREVENTIVE OF SICKNESS.

The experience that Dr. Talbot has had for the last twenty-five years, convinces him that it is time the public had an article offered that will prevent sickness. The article offered is Dr. Talbot's Medicated Pineapple Cider, designed for all classes,

OLD AND YOUNG.

It is not new to the Doctor, but it is entirely new to the public. One quart bottle will last a well person a year. This is rather a new mode of doctoring; nevertheless it will

SAVE MILLIONS

from being sick. Is it not better to pay three dollars a year to keep from being sick, than to pay ten or twenty dollars in doctor's bills, and as much more for the loss of time, and inconvenience of being sick?

To prevent sickness, use as follows:

Add one teaspoonful of Medicated Pineapple Cider to a tumbler of cold water, and drink the first thing after you rise in the morning, and the same before you retire at night.

IJ will increase the strength, and give

VIGOR AND ACTION

to the system.

A celebrated New York Merchant, who has made a thorough trial of the Pineapple Cider, assures Dr. Talbot that he has gained ten Pounds of flesh in one month at the first trial. He continues its use as above directed, and finds it very beneficial; says it proved an entire

PREVENTIVE TO SICKNESS

in his case. Also, another well-known gentleman in New York has used the Medicated Cider constantly for ten years, and has not been sick one day during that time.

THIS WONDERFUL PREPARATION

will increase the strength, give vigor and action to the system, and regulate digestion. When taken internally, for pains of all kinds—Bilious Colic, Diarrhœa, Diseases of the Throat, Pains in the Chest, Hoarseness, Coughs, Neuralgia, Rheumatic Pains, Dyspepsia, Acidity of the Stomach, etc., etc.—its soothing and quieting effect on the system is most astonishing.

Dr. Wilcox, an eminent physician, employed it with great success in treating Fevers, Dyspepsia, Nervous Affections, Loss of Appetite, Weakness, Palpitation of the Heart, Chronic Diarrhœa, Colic Dysentery, and Diseases of the Stomach and Bowels. It is also particularly recommended by physicians to delicate females, and as an excellent remedy for Enfeebled Digestion, Want of Appetite, Scrofula, Nephritic Affections, Rheumatism, etc., etc. It never fails to relieve Nervous Tremor, Wakefulness, Disturbed Sleep, etc. American Ladies have used this article with great success to heighten their color and beauty.

It imparts cheerfulness to the disposition, and brilliancy to the complexion.

To Travellers, especially, it is of inestimable value, and should be provided as a medicine for every journey in which the water is likely to vary in quality and tendency.

Persons residing in any part of the country may adopt it with the utmost confidence as a timely, efficacious restorative.

PRICES:

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TWO DOLLARS " (FULL PINT).
ONE DOLLAR " (FULL HALF-PINT).

1 Quart bottle, 2 Pint bottles, or 4 Half-pint bottles sent free by express on receipt of price. FOR SALE EVERYWHERE.

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THE TRIBUNE FOR 1865

PROSPECTUS

The Millitary and Naval successes of 1864, with the auspicious result of our Presidential contest, have lifted a heavy weight from the breast of the Loyal Millions of our countrymen. It is now felt even by those who have been distrustful and faint-hearted, that the Union is to emerge triumphant from the deadly strife whereinto she was so wickedly precipitated by her assailants, and that Slavery, her relentless foe, is to encounter the fate of Haman. The perils of foreign intervention and of Western insurrection are safely passed; Abraham Lincoln, no longer assailable as the choice of a minority, holds the helm of State for four years longer; the Rebellion, palpably weakened by its defeats and losses during the year now closing—with its credit so reduced that its purse-bearer officially declares that its Treasury Notes can be exchanged for coin at the rate of Twenty-five only for one while its bonds command but six cents on one dollar—but awaits the blow which shall soon strike the sword from its parricidal hand and remit its master spirits to the justice or it may be to the clemency, of a sorely wronged and justly incensed but forbearing and magnanimous People. Such are the auspices which justify our faith that the year soon to open will see the Stars and Stripes float unchallenged from every battlement in the Republic, and the perfect law of Liberty for All immovably imbedded in the Constitution of our Union.

THE NEW-YORK TRIBUNE, founded in 1841, will enter upon its twenty-fourth year with quickened hopes and enlarged means of usefulness. Its principles need no restatement, its aims are the diffusion of Intelligence and the inculcation of a spirit of Freedom and Humanity. When this truth shall have been generally recognized and established as the basis of our institutions and polity, that injustice to the poorest, the weakest, the most despised, is a fearful mistake—that no community or State can afford to wrong even its humblest member—then will our land bask once more in the calm sunshine of peace and prosperity.

THE TRIBUNE has for the last year been published with but small profit to its proprietors, when compared with the enormous labor and outlay devoted to its publication, solely because of the depreciation of our currency below the specie standard, compelling us to buy paper and other materials at a cost considerably above the full amount received from our subscribers. On our weekly edition, the net loss has amounted to many thousands of dollars; while our large receipts from Advertising have been absorbed by the extraordinary expenses for Correspondence, Telegraphing, &c., devolved on us by the War. As we do not suppose our Patrons desire that we should work for them at our own cost, and prefer not to be patronized by any who may desire it, we have somewhat advanced for the ensuing year the prices of our Semi-Weekly and Weekly, as we have already done with those of our daily edition. This increase is purely nominal; there never before was a time when the farmers of our country could buy THE TRIBUNE for so little of their own products or labor as they can by the following

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do 2 copies, do do	7 00
do 5 copies, or over, for each copy,	3 00

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Persons remitting for 15 copies, $45, will receive an extra copy.

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Mail subscribers, single copy, 1 year—52 numbers	2 50
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Persons remitting $20 for 10 copies, will receive one copy extra, gratis.

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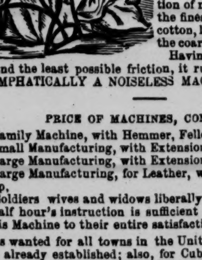
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It has a straight needle, perpendicular action, makes the Lock or Shuttle Stitch, which will neither rip nor ravel, and is alike on both sides; performs perfect sewing on every description of material, from Leather to the finest Nansook Muslin, with cotton, linen or silk thread, from the coarsest to the finest number. Having neither cam nor cog-wheel, and the least possible friction, it runs as smooth as glass, and is EMPHATICALLY A NOISELESS MACHINE!

PRICE OF MACHINES, COMPLETE:

No 1, Family Machine, with Hemmer, Feller and Braider,	$60
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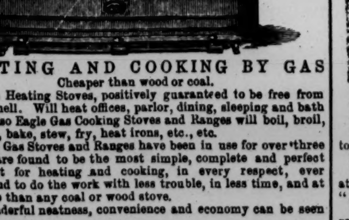
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One half hour's instruction is sufficient to enable any person to work this Machine to their entire satisfaction!

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Cheaper than wood or coal.

Eagle Gas Heating Stoves, positively guaranteed to be free from smoke or smell. Will heat offices, parlor, dining, sleeping and bath rooms. Also Eagle Gas Cooking Stoves and Ranges will boil, broil, roast, toast, bake, stew, fry, heat irons, etc., etc.

The Eagle Gas Stoves and Ranges have been in use for over three years, and are found to be the most simple, complete and perfect arrangement for heating and cooking, in every respect, ever invented, and to do the work with less trouble, in less time, and at less expense than any coal or wood stove.

Their wonderful neatness, convenience and economy can be seen at a glance.

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FORTY NEW PIANOS, MELODEONS, ALEXANDRE and Cabinet Organs, wholesale or retail, at extremely low prices. Second hand Pianos at great bargains; prices rom $50 to $225. All the above instruments to let, and rent allowed if purchased. Monthly payments received fo the same. New 7 octave Pianos for $275 cash.

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GROVESTEEN & CO.,

PIANO-FORTE MANUFACTURERS,

499 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

The attention of the public and the trade is invited to our New Scale Seven Octave Rosewood Piano-Fortes, which for volume and purity of tone are unrivalled by any hitherto offered in this market. They contain all the modern improvements, French, grand action, harp pedal, iron frame, over strung bass, etc., and each instrument being made under the personal supervision of Mr. J. H. Grovesteen, who has had a practical experience of over thirty years in their manufacture, is fully warranted in every particular.

THE "GROVESTEEN PIANO-FORTE"

received the highest award of merit over all others at the celebrated World's Fair! where were exhibited instruments from the best makers of London, Paris, Germany, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Boston and New York; and also at the American Institute for five successive years, the gold and silver medals from both of which can be seen at our warerooms.

By the introduction of improvements we make a still more perfect Piano-Forte, and by manufacturing largely, with a strict cash system, are enabled to offer these instruments at a price which will preclude all competition.

PRICES.

No. 1, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood Plain Case, $275.

No. 2, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood heavy moulding, $300.

No. 3, Seven Octave, round corners, Rosewood Louis XIV. style, $325.

Terms—Net Cash, in Current Funds.

Descriptive Circulars sent free.

WEST'S IMPROVED PUMP
Anti-Freezing, Double-Acting, Forcing and Lifting.

These Pumps have now been in general use a number of years, and give better satisfaction than any other, and are recommended as THE BEST! by Captain Ericsson, and other eminent engineers. We can refer to thousands using them, and guarantee that all will recommend them. They are more simple in construction, and work easier, and cost less than all others.

"Our readers will find the double-acting, improved Pump of J. D. West & Co., one of the best in the market. It is very simple, works to a charm, so that any child may use it; throws a steady, continuous stream, and does not freeze in the coldest exposures, and is unusually cheap. We say this knowingly, and give the testimony of our own accord, without the knowledge or request of the proprietors."—*N. Y. Evening Post, July* 1, 1863.

"J. D. West & Co. We are pleased to state that the Pumps we had of you, about a year ago, have been in constant use, 12 hours each day, and raise for the use of our woolen factory about 130 gallons per minute. They work with but little power, compared with pumps we have used before, and do not get out of repair, and are satisfactory in all respects. Dunlap Manufacturing Co."

Solon Robinson to the Farmers' Club, Jan. 28:

"No farmer who owns a well or a cistern can possibly afford to be without an iron pump. It should be at once a suction and force pump—a perfect little fire-engine—such a one known as 'West's Improved Pump.' I speak of this Pump, because I happen to know it . . . . to be very simple, durable, powerful, and cheap, and it don't freeze up, nor get out of order once a year . . . . I know this, and think I may be doing the farmers good by speaking of it . . . . A boy 10 years old can work it, and throw a continuous inch-and-a-quarter stream. . . .It can be made to work in deep wells as well as in shallow ones."

"Great Neck, L. I., 1860.

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"H. B. McIlvain."

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